

Bismillah - ir - Rahman - ir - Raheem

**ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY
AND
ITS IMPACT ON OUR TIMES**

by

PROFESSOR MAHMUD BRELVI

The Muslim Prayer

(Surah-e-Fatihah)

*Praise be to Thee my God, Lord of the Worlds,
O Merciful, Compassionate art Thou,
The King of all on the Day of Reckoning,
Thee only do we worship and adore,
To Thee, Most Merciful, we cry for help
O guide us ever more on the straight path,
The path of those to whom Thou Gracious art,
On whom Thine anger falls not then not now,
The path of them that from Thee go not astray.*

Amen !

"We have invented weapons of unprecedented power and at the same time have found ways of delivering these weapons quickly on target, through our conquest of space-inner and to some extent outer. The scientists of the world, responding to the requests of their sovereign governments, have found a way to destroy those governments in a matter of hours. Military victory has become an obsolete concept in a world within push-button distance of nuclear destruction. The 'Winner' in the next big war will be that nation which kept 25 per cent of its total population alive for 12 hours longer than did its rival. Yet, wearily, automatically, we go on with the futile race for monopoly of the capacity for atomic terror—although no such monopoly can ever again exist. Military security, like military victory, is a phrase from a dead language, a language which was struck for ever dumb at Hiroshima."

Elmo Roper,
'A Modern Foreign Policy,' Current History,
 Philadelphia 3, Pa. USA., July, 1959, p. 16.

Foreword

by

Dr. M. Basharat Ali,

M.A., Ph.D., D.P.H., D.P.G. (Berlin)

(Former Social Adviser, Bureau of National Reconstruction,
 Government of Pakistan)

DR. Mahmud Brelvi, the author of this book, needs no introduction, because he is known all over the country as a scholar of all-dimensional ability. Men of his calibre and typology are hardly found in this part of the world. The greatest characteristic of his erudite personality, according to sociometry and psychogenesis, is to be discovered in his axiological orientation—a feature common in his writings covering the fields of variety, of knowledge and thematic approaches in their specific bearings of social, cultural, religious, economic and political phenomena. This wide-ranged approach of his thought-patterns is both universalistic and particularistic, combining both the frameworks into one totality in congruity with the totality of life—a thing that could only be maintained by a Muslim scholar, like Dr. Brelvi, who is brought up in a cultural milieu with *Tauheed* as a Major Premise. It is not an exaggeration indeed to declare that the learned Dr. sedulously observed this Principle in his writings, covering a wider dimension of all the phenomena of life and systems of culture.

These personality-traits and scholarly features of his analysis persuaded me to write this Foreword with the greatest pleasure and honour. With the diffusion of the Islamic culture, it was inevitable that it should enter into an atmosphere of clash and contact with other cultures and sub-types of culture having their own ideational or sensate cultural mentalities. This background of Islamic culture, which forms the existential bases of its advance, never became a subject of critical study and scientific orientation by our scholars of this century. I feel very happy that, the author of this treatise has taken an audacious step and has opened a new field for the scholars of this century, who are very keen to understand the nature and destiny of Islam as a multi-dimensional religio-cultural order of idealistic cultural mentality

and integralism. The topic of the book and the specific procedure adopted by the learned Dr. will indicate his logico-meaningful relativity not only with the Universe, but also with the methodology needed for a specific kind of study like the present one. The merits, or in the terminology of the scientific research, methodology, the 'determinants' of his lines of approach towards this Universe are to be seen in the extensiveness and intensiveness of his study. The thematic analysis of Islam in its multi-polaric dimensions, like the one studied in Part One of the book, in itself, is a proof of the above inference.

According to the analysis of the author, one can instantaneously conclude that, Islam is not a religion as presumed commonly, but a culture based on laws and principles, on the one hand, and on the systems of culture, on the other. In this dyadic framework, the author has enunciated the specific feature of Islam and its systems of culture, which are both idealistically integrated and meaningful in all their depths and levels. Apparently, it is a paradox to refer Islam as an 'ideology', but the learned author has departed from the conventional usage of the word, as well as its residual meaning. He has given a new derivative meaning to the term 'ideology,' making it congruous to denote the all-embracing meanings, which are involved in the term, 'Islam'. The author, thus, under the term, 'ideology,' has covered its historical forces and events, that present Islam as a social heritage and a cultural legacy of the prophetic religions of the past, and has also introduced a new idea in keeping with the original meanings of Islam. In this way, he has given a wider dimension to the term and has united its form, content and meaning into one totality.

The first chapter of Part I is the most important, because it forms the 'First Principle' and the axiological base of the study. Its three determinants—the *micro*, *macro* and *meta* levels of Islam—encompassing its three overt levels, refer to above in terms of form, content and meaning. This triad forms the major premise of the analyses of the rest of the chapters of Part One. With this common terminology, he has given a new direction and a new orientation to the term, 'ideology', and has also provided a momentum and urge for the scientific understanding of Islam. Ideology, in its specific framework, is not to be taken in its day-to-day meanings, as used by the modern scholars, like Max Weber, Karl Mannheim and Mumford, but in its multi-dimensional framework, denoting ideal or perpetual existence in the pursuit of Truth. Neither the pursuit nor the existence of

the above type is possible without following the Quranic lines of action, designed under the methodological procedure of *Ilm-ul-Yaqin*, '*Ain-ul-Yaqin* and *Haqq-ul-Yaqin*. I feel not only happy but also very proud to say that, the term 'ideology', which is tantamount to Utopianism in the modern terminology, has been Quranized by the author referring to the idea that, Islam is a complete *Deen*.

After having enunciated the ideology *i. e.* the existential and axiological bases of Islam, the author undertakes to study other phenomena and systems of Islam, which is a *Deen* covering the material and non-material aspects of life as one categorical whole. In this periphery, the first category is that of morality, which has been systematized as 'culture'. Like the term, 'ideology', the term 'moral', too, has been given all-embracing and multi-dimensional frameworks to meet the sensate, as well as supra, super and hyper-sensate realities of life. The entire chapter is based on a trend comprising ontology, teleology and axiology into one totality. In view of this, it was necessary for the author to discuss the moral order of Islam immediately after the analysis of the Islamic ideology—the so-called meanings and value-system of Islam.

The remaining chapters of the book are analyzed by the author under the 'value-judgement standard', suggested in the first two chapters. The second part is one, which is to be called as the applied part of this scientific study of the impact of Islam. This part again is the vital proof of his universalistic approach and wide-ranged scholarship, covering the fields of humanities, and social and physical sciences.

Dr. Brelvi will remain alive as the leader of a new scholarship, and he and his writings will serve the generations of the present and future to follow his pattern, because they are congruous with the spirit of the age. Islam will survive for ever, if the Muslims take the responsibility of interpreting it according to ever-changing circumstances of life. Its unfolding is dependent on the understanding of the ever-newness of the spirit of the age.

Introduction-I

by

MAULANA SYED ABUL A'LA MAUDOODI

(Ameer, Jama'at-e-Islami, Lahore)

THERE is an abundance of misleading and misrepresenting literature in the English language as regards Islam and the Muslims. This process has been continued for centuries past, and, even today, there is no lessening in its intensity and volume so much so that a great number of even those scholars, who were expected to be fair in their researches about Islam, have also been partial, prejudiced and dishonest. The number of those non-Muslim scholars, against whom we have no grievance of this nature, is very small indeed.

The Muslims have started to try to represent themselves their own faith and community through the medium of the English language from the last decade of the past century only. However, quite a few of them have adopted an apologetic attitude, and some of them have even endeavoured to identify Islam with the Western norms. The literature that presents Islam and the Muslims clearly and correctly is yet scant in the English language, and it has been published in a very limited and insufficient quantity.

At a time when the necessity of proper and better understanding among the various peoples of the world is being acutely felt, and the harm emanating from mutual misunderstandings is universally recognized, no sane and well-meaning person can welcome such a state of affairs. Every effort to rectify it, therefore, must be encouraged and appreciated.

The learned author of this work is happily one of those few Muslim scholars, who have fruitfully tried to make up for the deficiency in the English literature of this nature. He has already published a number of useful books on Islam and the Muslims. Now, his present work projects the Islamic Ideology, its moral, political, economic, social, educational and legal systems, the various and multifarious aspects of Islam and the Islamic way of life, the historical effects and impressions of Islam on the West and those of the West on the life of the Muslims, and the existing problems and features of the Muslim peoples and countries in the present age more elaborately and comprehensively to the English knowing world.

I hope, this book will prove to be of great help to those English readers, who want to understand properly and correctly the faith, philosophy and way of life of the magnificent Muslim people, who occupy a vast portion of our universe.

Introduction-II

by

Al-Hajj DR. MAJOR BASHIRUDDIN

The author of now-famous books—*Islam in Africa* (1964) and *Islam and Its Contemporary Faiths* (1965), Professor Mahmud Brelvi, is known internationally as a missionary, speaker and writer of Islam. He has already published over thirty books on Islam, and has devoted his life to this noble pursuit. His present book, *Islamic Ideology And Its Impact On Our Times*, is a great tribute to his Islamic erudition and scholarship as well as to his zeal and enthusiasm to defend and project the true Islam against the intrigues and machinations of Christian missionaries and Jewish and Christian Orientalists, who try to undermine Islam through their misinterpretations.

Professor Brelvi has lived upto his reputation as one of the greatest scholars of Islam of our times and has produced standard works on this subject. The Muslim world congratulates him for his great and selfless service to the cause of Islam, and prays that Allah, in His Mercy, may bestow on him His choicest Divine Blessings by making his life yet more beneficial to the Muslim millat. Amen!

Introduction—III

by

S. A. AKHTAR, M.A.

Islamic Ideology And Its Impact On Our Times is a pioneer and unique work of its kind in various respects. In a comprehensive volume, it discusses almost all the aspects of the principles and teachings of Islam, as well as, covers the entire Muslim world, independent and non-independent, in relation to the application of the ideals of Islam. Never before a single volume has condensed such a vast wealth of information on Islam, yet so comprehensively. The book contains no less than 116 chapters, and is a standard work of deep scholarship on almost all the problems of Islam that are now faced by the Muslims throughout this universe.

Dr. Mahmud Brelvi, a veteran writer on Islam, has placed the future in debt to the present through his erudite and scholarly contributions on Islam. He is a voluntary missionary of Islam, unattached to any so-called sect or organization. He has contributed over two dozen works on Islam, and has actually added to Islam new converts more than this figure. *Islamic Ideology And Its Impact On Our Times* is indispensable to university students, teachers, scholars and general readers alike, who are interested in Islam as a way of life.

Preface

ISLAM is the best religion in the world. We mean, Islam rightly understood and correctly interpreted, but not the Islam of mere formalism. The formalists have degraded this great religion by paying undue attention to mere forms to the exclusion and neglect of its living spirit. This is the real cause of the political, economic and social degradation of the Muslim countries of our day. True Islam consists in a three-fold duty : 1) to God; 2) to oneself ; and 3) to others. And, this duty is to be discharged by simply adopting, under Allah's Guidance, 'the mean between two extremes.' This is the fundamental principle, which underlines everything Islamic and Muslim. Islam, as a religion, means nothing more nor less than these three duties.

It is the indifference to religion and the consequent impiety of some of the Muslims of today that accounts mostly for their lack of co-operation and for their loss of material power in modern times. Degradation is the lot of faithless Muslims. The pragmatism of Islam does not object to anything, which has a practical value, unless it is unreasonable, immoral or inconsistent with the Islamic ideas of the Unity of God and the brotherhood of man. There is nothing in the Quran, which is improbable or cannot be rationally explained to be quite in accordance with the laws of nature. No other religion accords so well as Islam with the modern ideas of science. It is a simple religion, easy to understand, convenient to practise, and most readily receptive to human progress and advancement.

According to Islam, there are two sources of knowledge : Science and Revelation. The former represents man's effort to learn God's Ways; and the latter, God's Grace to reveal His ways to man. Allah reveals Himself to everybody at every instant of his life. It depends entirely on the spiritual capacity of each individual to what extent he knows Allah and His Ways. The ideas of Muslim theology are in perfect accord with the scientific thought of our day—the maxim of unity and loyalty, of self-help, and of moderation. As a socio-political institution, the Muslim society is today in the same vicissitudes of development as the Christian society was in the middle of its 14th. century—an institution weakened by contending sects and rendered stagnant by rigid formalism. "It is a dispensation of Providence," says Syed

Ameer Ali in *The Spirit of Islam*, that "whenever a religion becomes reduced to formalism, cross-currents set into it and restore its spiritual vitality." As in Christianity in its 14th. century, so in Islam of our own time (incidentally, also the 14th. century of the Islamic era), the vitalising cross-currents have set in, and we are now witnessing an Islamic Renaissance all over the world. The Islamic revival is now on the march as surely as the Christian Reformation occurred in the wake of Patristicism and Formalism.

When the hostile Christendom could not destroy Islam by the sword through Crusades, the same object has since been sought to be achieved through the introduction of the Western-type Nationalism in Muslim countries, and the so-called Orientalism, which is nothing else than the 'lay form' of the world-wide Christian missionary movement. In the early 20's of this century, Le Chatelier wrote thus in the editorial of his famous French magazine, *Le monde musulman* :

"No doubt, our missionaries have failed so far in directly undermining the faith of the Muslims. This end can only be achieved through the propagation of Western ideas, which would filter in Muslim thought. Thus, the missionary organizations would achieve their goal of destroying Islamic religious concepts, which so far have preserved their identity and strength. With the weakening of their belief in Islam, decay and disintegration are bound to set in, uprooting entirely the religious spirit of the Muslims."

Thus, the real aims of the cultural invasion of the Muslim world by the Christian West, and of the growth of Nationalism among Muslim countries, are clearly discernible.

The Christian missionaries, Western Orientalists, and de-Islamised Muslims—themselves the product of Christian missionary and Orientalist institutions—are diligently working for 'secularising' the Muslim countries. With the help of their Christian minorities, they hope, these Muslim countries will not be ruled by Islam alone. Now, the Western powers want to rule over the Muslim world, not through force, but through religion, as they have successfully done in the Philippines, Formosa, South Korea, South Vietnam, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, and also in Latin America. America's 'cheque-book colonialism,' and Western economic domination have hastened the pace of this movement. They have already Westernized and de-Islamised a number of non-Christian countries and have converted

them into Christian-dominated ones, like Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and other countries both in Africa and Asia. Cultural and educational institutions, like the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal (Canada) and the American University of Beirut, and Christian missionary literary productions, like *The Muslim World*, Hartford (U. S. A.), have done tremendous harm to Islam by undermining it. Christian altruism is basically anti-Islamic.

In view of the feverish activities of the Christian missionaries and Western Orientalists to undermine Islam and to weaken the belief of the Muslims in their faith, the governments of the Muslim countries should re-consider their attitude *vis a vis Tableegh*, since they are primarily responsible for the propagation of Islam in so far as they are not intolerant of other faiths and do not resort to religious persecution as a means of forcing Islam on their non-Muslim minorities. Anything, that is conducive to the spread of Islam in a peaceful and persuasive manner, falls within the scope of a Muslim government's duties, since these Muslim governments themselves exist on the convenient slogan of Islam. The *Tableegh* work ought to be subsidized by State treasuries and adequately financed for its proper and successful organization. Unfortunately, the governments of the Muslim countries are not alive to the importance and urgency of *Tableegh*. As opposed to them, the so-called secular Christian governments in the West are fully alive to the needs of the Church, as they find ways and means to contribute generously the funds that are at the discretion and disposal of Christian missions. Consequently, the Christian missionary educational, cultural and charitable institutions are numerous and flourishing, which disseminate the gospel so effectively in Muslim lands. If the *Tableegh* work is also to be made dignified and effective, it has to be recognised as one of the duties and functions of every Muslim state. The welfare and progress of Islam are inter-linked with the very existence of the governments of the Muslim countries.

The Renaissance of Islam is possible only if we revive the dormant spirit of *Ijtihad*. Today's Muslim must feel himself free again to solve his problems with the help of the Quran, the *Sunnah*, the precepts of the recognised early Muslim divines and theologians, but irrespective of sectarian affiliations and bondages, using his own independence of thought and judgment according to time, place and nature of the problem, when the guidance is not available from the aforesaid original sources.

The following pages in this monograph discuss ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY and its impact, or otherwise, on our times throughout the world. The slogan of the present Islamic Renaissance should be : 'Follow the Quran and the *Sunnah*, and Acquire Power.'

This book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY, the various phases of which have been elaborated in no less than 15 chapters. The second part of the book contains seven main chapters, each of which is again sub-divided into numerous sub-chapters; the total number of all the chapters, in this second part, being 101. Thus, the grand total of the chapters in the entire work is 116. The book ends in a Conclusion, followed by an Appendix, based on the latest figures of the Muslim population of the world (i.e., a comprehensive table of the areas and populations of the Muslim countries; including the numbers of Muslims in the countries where they are in minorities), Bibliography and Index.

The author respectfully pays his humble homage to that great Muslim—Al-Hajj Dr. Major Bashiruddin—whose inimitable generosity, self-effacing magnanimity, unassuming humility and indefatigable zeal for *Tableegh* have made the publication of this work possible, and to Dr. Afzal Mahmud, Ustad Nadir Jandali, Mr. S. A Akhtar, and Mr. Asghar Hussain, and his friends, who have also been materially helpful. We also thank Dr. M. Basharat Ali kindly to write a very illuminating Foreword, and to Maulana Syed Abul A'la Maududi for his kindness to have found time to write a befitting Introduction to this work. It is gratifying indeed to know that a movement is already afoot in Saudi Arabia to bring out an Arabic edition of this work.

Concluding, we are very sorry for many printing mistakes that have crept into the book, for which the inagreeable practice of adding an Errata had to be resorted.

32, Malir Colony,
P. O. Box 5294,
Karachi-2 (Pakistan)

January, 1967.

Mahmud Brelvi

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ERRATA

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61	24	oder	order
76	4	tfie	the
76	6	475	485
83	15	Kema	Kemal
90	8	Ash'aritel	Ash'arite
90	9	eader	leader
108	5	Sukaro	Sukarno
154	last	anti-forei gnriots	anti-foreign riots
156	23	hat	that
156	24	Indin	India
178	33	19 2	1952
178	37	bo h	both
193	27	famou	famous
215	15	Muslm	Muslim
217	15	converts	a convert
217	15	the and	and the
217	19	B.C.	C.E.
218	36	Equaroria	Equatoria
220	9	campaiga	campaign
235	33	mamber	member
246	2	env saged	envisaged
253	3	7, 877, 598	12, 248, 800
253	8	15 million	19 million
264	22	1666	1966
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PART I
ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

Chapter 1

THE IDEOLOGY OF ISLAM

THE motto of Islam is summed up in the expression of the Quran: "Well-being in this world and well-being in the Hereafter." Islam will certainly not satisfy the extremists of either school—the ultra-spiritualists and the ultra-materialists — yet it is practised by an overwhelming number of mankind, which follows an intermediate path, and develops simultaneously both the body and the soul, creating a harmonious equilibrium in man as a whole. Islam has not only insisted on the importance of both these constituents of man, but also on their inseparability, so that one is not sacrificed for the benefit of the other. If Islam prescribes spiritual duties and practices, they contain also material advantages; similarly, if it authorizes an act of temporal utility, it shows how this act can also be a source of spiritual satisfaction.

As a corollary of the all-embracing Islamic conception of life is the fact that the Quran uses very often the double formula: "Believe and do good deeds". The mere profession of faith, without application or practice, has not much value. Islam insists as much on the one as on the other. The doing of good deeds without the belief in God may be preferable, in the interests of the society, to the practice of evil deeds; but, from the spiritual standpoint, a good deed without faith cannot bring salvation in the Hereafter. But how to distinguish the good from the evil? In the first instance, it is the 'Revealed Law' which alone can be the criterion; yet, in the last resort, it is one's conscience which can be one's arbiter. A jurisconsult can only opine on the basis of facts

which have been brought to his notice. An Islamic judicial maxim says : "Consult thy conscience even if the jurisconsults give justification to thee."

Never to think of others, but only of one's own self, is not human, but beastly. To think of others, after having satisfied one's own needs, is normal and permitted. But, the Quran praises those "Who prefer others to themselves, though poverty become their lot" (59:9). Evidently, it is a recommendation, not an obligatory duty laid on the average man. This Quranic recommendation was augmented by a famous saying of the Prophet : "The best of men is the one who does good to others." Islam believes in the absolute Oneness of God, and prescribes a form of worship and prayer, which admit neither images nor symbols (considering them to be the remnants of idolatry). In Islam, God is not only Transcendent and Non-material, beyond even physical perception, but also He is Omnipresent and Omnipotent. The relations between man and his Creator are direct and personal, without requiring any intermediary. Even the saintliest of the saints, such as Prophets, are only guides and messengers ; and it is left to the individual man to make his choice and be directly responsible to Allah.

It will thus be seen that Islam seeks to develop the personality of the individual. It admits voluntarily that man has his weaknesses, as he is constituted simultaneously of the capacities both of good and evil ; yet, it does not admit that there is an 'original sin' in him, as this would be an injustice. If Adam had committed a sin, this should create no responsibility on his posterity, each individual human being remaining responsible for his personal account only. Even as Islam seeks to develop the individuality in man, it seeks also social collectivity. This could be seen in all its prescriptions, be they religious or temporal. For reasons best known to Him, God has endowed different individuals with different qualities. On the basis of this natural phenomenon, Islam affirms, on the one hand, the original equality of all, and on the other hand, the superiority of individuals one over the other. All are creatures of the same Lord, and it is not material superiority which counts for obtaining the greater pleasure of God. It is the piety, which is the one criterion of the grandeur of the individual. After all, life in this world is but ephemeral, and there must be a difference between the behaviour of a man and a beast.

It is in this sense, that Islam rejects the narrow basis of 'Nationality' as the element of solidarity. The attachment to parentage or to the soil, on which one is born, is no doubt natural. But the very interest of the human race demands a certain tolerance towards other similar groups,

The distribution of the natural wealth in different parts of the world in varying quantities renders the world interdependent. Therefore, one is forced to 'live and let live'. Nationality, on the basis of language, race, colour or birthplace is too primitive, and so un-Islamic. The Islamic notion, on the contrary, is progressive, and is based solely on the choice of the individual. For it proposes the unity of all those who believe in the same ideology, without distinction of race, tongue or place of abode.

It may be remembered that Islamic ideology is a synthesis of the requirements both of the body and the soul; moreover, it inculcates tolerance. Islam has proclaimed that God has always sent His messengers at different epochs among different peoples. Islam itself claiming nothing more than the function of renewing and reviving the eternal Message of God, so often repeated at the hands of Prophets. It prohibits all compulsion in the matter of religious beliefs; and, however unbelievable it may sound, Islam is under the self-imposed religious dogmatic duty of giving autonomy to non-Muslims residing on the soil of an Islamic State.

'Free Will' and 'Predestination' are philosophic questions. They are an eternal dilemma that can never be resolved by logic alone. The Prophet of Islam (may peace be on him) had emphatically recommended his adherents not to engage themselves in discussions on these topics, "which had led astray those peoples who preceded you". He separated the two questions, *viz.*, the Omnipotence of God, and the responsibility of man. In fact, there is no logic in love, and the Muslim loves his Creator. Islam separates celestial affairs (which are the attributes of God) from human temporal matters, and insists on the faithful to act. Since the Divine Will rests concealed from man, it is his duty never to despair after a preliminary failure, but to try again and again until the object is either realized or becomes impossible of attainment. The Islamic concept of 'Predestination' comes in this latter case to console man; that was the Will of God, and the success or failure in this world has no importance in connection with eternal salvation, in which matter God judges according to intention and effort and not according to the measure of realization and success.

The 'Predetermination' in Islam has another significance, not less important, *viz.*, it is God Who alone attributes to a human act the quality of good or evil; it is God Who is the source of all law. It is the Divine prescriptions which are to be observed in all our behaviours, and which He communicates to us through His chosen messengers. Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him) was not only the last of these, but

also the one whose teaching has been better preserved. We do not possess originals of the ancient messages, which have suffered damages in the unhappy wars of fratricidal human society. The Quran is not only an exception, but also constitutes the latest Divine Message. It is a commonplace that, 'a law later in date abrogates the former dispositions of the same legislator'. It is the duty of a Muslim not only to follow the Divine Law in his daily behaviour, of the life of the individual as well as the collectivity, temporal as well as spiritual, but also to contribute, each one according to his capacities, to the propagation of this Ideology, which is based on Divine Revelation and intended for the well-being of everybody¹.

Chapter 2

THE MORAL SYSTEM OF ISLAM

MEN may be divided into three principal categories : (1) those who are good by nature and incorruptible in the face of temptations, whose very instinct suggests to them what is good and charitable ; (2) those who are just the contrary and are incorrigible ; and (3) those who belong to the intermediary group and behave suitably if they are obliged thereto, but who otherwise fall into a state of neglect and do injustice to others. This last category comprises the immense majority of the human race ; the members of the other two extreme categories comprising but a few individuals. The first kind ('the human-angels') does not require any direction or control ; but it is the second kind ('the human-devils') which must, by all means, be controlled and prevented from doing evil. Great attention has to be devoted to the third kind ('the human-men'). The members of this third category resemble, in certain respects, rather the beasts. They are calm and content with what they possess so long as they perceive nothing better in the possession of others, or they do not suspect some mischief on the part of others. This evil propensity, in the face of temptations, has been, at all times, the object of intense pre-occupation on the part of human society.

Perhaps the very aim of human society is no other than controlling temptations and remedying the damage already done. All men, even members of the same nation, are never developed alike. A noble spirit is willing to sacrifice and do works of charity. An intelligent spirit sees very far, and the consequences, which would compromise the immediate gain, prevent it from doing evil, even if it should not be persuaded to sacrifice on its own initiative. As to the ordinary spirit, not only does it not willingly consent to sacrifice, but even permits itself to thrive at the

expense of others, unless there be a fear of violent and immediate reaction on the part of its victim, or society, or any other superior power. But the obtuse spirit is not deterred even by this fear, and persists till the last in its criminal intent, struggling against all opposition, until it is placed by society in a state where it can no more have a nuisance value—after punishment by death or imprisonment. All laws, all religions and all philosophies try to persuade the masses, or the intermediary category, to behave in a suitable manner, and even to offer voluntary sacrifices in order to help the poor, the destitute and those who have needs and yet cannot satisfy them, for no fault of theirs.

Islam does not believe in the life of this world as an end in itself, or in body without any relation to soul. On the contrary, it teaches belief in the Hereafter. Its motto, as enunciated by the Quran, is: "The best in this world as well as the best in the Hereafter". It is thus that not only does it praise the good and condemn the evil, but also provides rewards and sanctions, both spiritual and material. As far as its injunctions and prohibitions are concerned, Islam inculcates in the spirit the fear of God. It takes all possible precautions in the realm of material sanctions, in order to deter man from permitting himself injustice and violation of the rights of others. Almost all human life is composed of acts whose good and evil are relative. That is why the Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him) has often declared: "Acts will be (judged) only according to motives."

It is the Divine aspect which has the decisive significance in Islam and not the reasoning of a philosopher, a jurist or a moralist; more so because the reasoning of different individuals may differ and lead to completely opposite conclusions. In a saying, attributed to the Prophet (and reported by Qadi 'Iyad, in his '*Shifa*'), we see the conception of life envisaged by Islam: Ali asked the Prophet one day about the principles governing his general behaviour, and he replied:

"Knowledge is my capital; reason is the basis of my religion; desire is my mount for riding; remembrance of God is my comrade; confidence is my treasure; anxiety is my companion; science is my arm; patience is my mantle; contentment is my booty; modesty is my pride; renunciation of pleasure is my profession; certitude is my food; truth is my intercessor; obedience is my grandeur; struggle is my habitude; and the delight of my heart is in prayer".

On another occasion, the Prophet Muhammad said: "The sum-total of wisdom is the fear of God." Islamic morality begins with the renunciation of all adoration outside God, be it adoration of the self (egoism), or adoration of our own handicrafts (idols, superstitions etc.); and the renunciation of all that degrades humanity (atheism, injustice, etc.).

Islam has proclaimed (and realized more than any other system) the superiority of the individual based solely on morality, which is a thing accessible and open to everybody without exception. Thus, it is that the Quran (49:13) has said:

"O mankind, lo, We have created you of a male and a female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another; verily the noblest of you in the sight of God is the most pious; lo, God is knower, Aware."

In a passage (49:10-12), the Quran describes, as under, the characteristics of a moral Muslim society:

"The believers are naught else than brethren; therefore make peace between your brethren and observe your duty to God that haply ye may obtain mercy. O ye, who believe, let not a folk deride a folk who may be better than they are, nor let women (deride) women who may be better than they are; neither defame one another, nor insult one another by nicknames; bad is the name of lewdness after embracing the faith; and whoso turneth not in repentance, such are evil-doers. O ye, who believe, shun much suspicion; for lo, some suspicion is a crime; and spy not, neither backbite one another; would one of you like to eat the flesh of his dead brother (by backbiting)? Ye abhor that (so abhor the other); and keep your duty to God; lo, God is Relenting, Merciful."

Islam divides faults into two big categories: those which are committed against the rights of God (unbelief, neglect of worship, etc.) and those against the rights of men. Moreover, God does not pardon the harm done by a man to his fellow-being; it is the victim who alone can pardon. If one does harm to another creature, be it man, animal or any other, one commits, in fact, a double crime: a crime against one's immediate victim, and also a crime against God, since the criminal conduct in question constitutes a violation of the Divine prescription. Men should profit from what God has created, yet in an equitable and reasonable measure, avoiding all dissipation and waste. To show clemency to others and pardon them is a noble quality and upon this Islam has often insisted. In eulogizing it, the Quran (3:133-4) says:

"And vie one with another for forgiveness from your Lord and for a Paradise as wide as the heavens and the earth, prepared for the pious, who spend (as charity) in ease and in adversity, who control their wrath and are forgiving towards mankind; and God loveth the doers of good."

There is no formality, no buying of Divine pardon by the intermediary of other men; instead, one must turn directly to God, present Him one's sincere regrets in a *tete-a-tete* conversation (*munajat*); for He is the Knower of all and nothing could be concealed from Him. Alms and charities are no doubt recommended, yet they do not buy automatically the Divine pardon for a given sin; each has an independent existence, and

God's Freedom is absolute. The Quran has confidence in human nature, in the common sense of man : " There will never be a unanimity in favour of the evil, even if some people permit it to themselves " is the purport of a well-known saying of the Prophet. The Quran (3 : 110) calls the faithful " the best community " and explains that is so because they " enjoin the good (*ma'ruf*) and forbid the evil (*munkar*) and believe in the One God.," In his celebrated speech, on the occasion of the 'Farewell Pilgrimage,' the Prophet declared the inviolability of the rights of every man in all the three categories of person, property and honour, ¹

Chapter 3

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF ISLAM

THE foundation stone of the social system of Islam is laid on the conception that, all the human beings belong to one universal brotherhood of man. Islam rejects all the prejudices of race, colour, language and nationality among the human beings, and considers the differences between those of high and low birth, rich and poor, acquaintance and stranger as the aftermath of the era of barbarism. In short, Islam believes in one world-wide brotherhood of humanity.

After the acceptance of this conception about humanity, Islam says that the only differences among this brotherhood can be those of ideas and ideals, morals and principles. Two sons of a mother may be one because of the same parentage, but if they disagree in their ideals and morals from one another, then the courses of their respective lives will be different. Contrary to this, two persons inhabiting the opposite far corners of the world may apparently be remotely divided and away from one another, but if they mutually agree in their conceptions of life, then their course of life will be the one and the same. According to this theory, Islam, contrary to all the social systems based on the conceptions of race, country and nation, builds up its own particular social system founded on purely human and moral principles, in which the guiding spirit is not the parentage or right of birth but faith in One Almighty and Beneficent God and a moral force.

Every person, who believes in One God as his Creator and Lord, and in the guidance by His true Prophets, can be admitted in this all-pervading social system, irrespective of the fact that he is a native of Australia or South America, Mongolian or Nubian, brown or yellow, German speaking or Urdu knowing. All the members of this Islamic social system

1. Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah, *Introduction to Islam*, Paris, 1949.

will be absolutely equal as regards their rights and social status, bereft of any kind of racial, national or lingual distinction. Human honour and dignity is based in the social system of Islam not on the consideration of birthright or wealth, but on the basis of exemplary good morals, piety, honesty, industry and efficiency. This is a social system, which, after having broken all the barriers of race and colour, nationality and language and geographical boundaries is capable to spread over all the parts of the world, on whose foundation can be raised a magnificent edifice of universal human brotherhood. As for the persons who do not enter the social system of Islam i.e., the non Muslims, Islam is readily willing to establish relations of human brotherhood with them and to concede to them all the human rights.

After having understood these fundamentals of the Islamic social system, we may now discuss the principles, and methods that Islam has approved for various types of human relations. The first and the basic institution of human society is the family. The family is the root of human civilization. Therefore, Islam insists that the institution of family be erected on correct foundations. According to Islam, the correct relations between a man and woman are those which bring, in their wake, accepted social responsibilities, and which culminate in the foundation of a family. Illegal and irresponsible union of a man and a woman is neither tolerated nor connived at by Islam as an innocent amusement or harmless flirtation; on the contrary, Islam considers it as a very harmful act, which uproots the human civilization. Hence, Islam seriously forbids such a union, makes it a legal offence, and fixes severe punishment for its perpetrators, so that the society may be freed from such unsocial relations.

Islam considers responsible union, i.e., *Nikah* (marriage contract), not only agreeable, but also an act of piety, a benediction and a form of devotion to Allah. Islam dislikes men and women to remain unmarried after their puberty. It induces every young person to bear the burden of the social responsibilities, which had been so willingly borne by his or her parent. Islam rejects asceticism and monasticism as a rebellion against Nature. It immensely dislikes all the customs and traditions that tend to render the *Nikah* a difficult and cumbersome job. Its aim is to encourage and facilitate the *Nikah*, and discourage adultery, but not the reverse. Islam orders to fix the lightest possible *Mehr* (money for marriage contract) and *Jahez* (dowry), so that the parties concerned may bear them easily.

Islam has appointed the master or male-head of the family as its administrator so that he may ensure order and discipline inside the household. It instructs the wife to obey her husband, and the children to obey

their parent. Islam does not like such a loose family order as has no discipline, and where nobody is responsible to look after the morals and to straighten the affairs of the family. But it does not mean at all that, Islam allows the master of the house to behave as a tyrant or a torturer, and that the lady of the house has been left at his mercy like a slave-girl.

According to Islam, the real spirit of the married life is in love and tenderness. If the wife is asked to obey her husband, then the latter too is expected to use his authority with consideration and indulgence. Islam allows the continuance of a married life only upto the time till it contains the sweetness of love, or, at least, the possibility of companionship. When this possibility too disappears, then it gives to a man the right of *Talaq* (divorce) and to a woman the right of *Khula*. In some respects, Islam gives the right to the *Shariah* courts to dissolve the marriage bond, which has become a calamity and a tragedy instead of a blessing and happiness.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF ISLAM

THE most important thing to ponder over is : What is the thing on which the leadership in this world depends ? What is the thing owing to which Egypt had once become the leader of the nations in the world, followed by Babylon, Greece, Rome, the Islamic Empire of Medina (later of Damascus and Baghdad etc.), and now the materialistic West ? What is that thing, anyway, due to which the leadership in this world was possessed by one, but was later transferred to someone else ? Is it an accidental episode or is there any particular principle and law of nature attached to it ? Yes, it is the law of nature. The principle or 'Law of Nature' is that, human leadership is interlinked with Knowledge. Man, as a species, has become the vicegerent of God on earth owing to Knowledge alone. Allah has given man three particular faculties : (1) 'the Power of Hearing' ; (2) 'the Power of Observing' ; and (3) 'the Power of Inference,' distinct from the other creatures on earth. Therefore, man has become the vicegerent of God and superior to other creatures on earth. In the same way, from among the human species themselves, whichever group will supersede the others, in the matter of Knowledge, will become their leader.

From this answer emanates another question: What is meant by Knowledge and what is implied by progressing or remaining backward in it ? (1) By the 'Power of Hearing' is meant the benefit from the Knowledge acquired by others; (2) by the 'Power of Observing' is meant the acquisition of Knowledge through personal experience; and (3) by the 'Power of Inference' is meant the ability to infer results by the knowledge and experience obtained through the aforesaid two faculties. All these three things combined lead to that knowledge, which makes man superior to other creatures. Among human beings, themselves, those who make

less use of these three faculties remain backward; as against them, those who utilise them thoroughly become leaders among men. So long as these qualities in the latter group distinguish it from the other human groups, it continues to remain the leader of those who are not sufficiently gifted with these qualities. Thus, the latter's destiny becomes to rule over the former.

However, when the time of decline of the overpowering group comes, it becomes lazy, and, considering its past achievements sufficient, renounces its efforts at acquiring knowledge through the 'Power of Observing' and the 'Power of Inference', with the result that its entire store of knowledge contracts into what limited knowledge it is able to gather through the 'Power of Hearing' only. For this group, the meaning of knowledge is merely 'making researches in its ancient acquisitions.' Now, it falls into this abyss of misunderstanding that, whatever knowledge it had attained before is enough for it, and there is no room for further advancement in it. Whatever conclusions were arrived at by it formerly were correct and final and there was no further possibility of any reform and progress in the same. When this group reaches that stage, it drops by itself from the human leadership, and if it tries to resist, it is forcibly removed from the stage. Its place is taken then by another group, which makes superior and continued efforts at the acquisition of more and new knowledge and is determined to make life progressively fruitful.

This human leadership, whether it leads religiously towards hell or heaven, is the monopoly of that group which makes the use of the aforesaid three powers better than the other human groups. This is Allah's unalterable Law for human beings, in which can be no exceptions. The group, whether God-fearing or Godless, which will fulfil these Divine conditions, will become the leader in this world.

The thing, which has removed the Muslims from the power and dignity of leadership and replaced them by the Godless Westerners, is the same unalterable 'Law of Nature'. For a very long time, the Knowledge of Muslims has been devoid of both the 'Power of Observing' and the 'Power of Inference' and their 'Power of Hearing', too, has been limited to the extent of collecting information of their ancient knowledge. As opposed to them, the materialistic West continued to advance in the field of knowledge, and, even in the field of the 'Power of Hearing', they exceeded the limits set by the self-contained Muslims, while in the fields of 'Observing' and 'Inference', it has been holding the sole monopoly for the last three centuries. Its logical consequence was that the materialists became the leader and the Muslims surrendered their superiority to them.

Most of the centres of religious learning, too, of the Muslims are still insisting on their old mistake, which has been the real cause of their present downfall. For them, knowledge is confined to the study of the ancient sciences only. As the God-fearing human group in the world, the Muslims cannot perform their duties with perfection unless and until they snatch back the leadership of the world from the materialists. However, there can be no other prescription for success than contending with the materialists in both the powers of 'Observing, and 'Inference' and abandoning their age-long practice of rejoicing on the past achievements only of their forefathers.

The Muslims do not want the leadership for selfish motives. Their contention with the materialists is not on the point of depriving them merely from the leadership. The muslims want to regain the leadership on points of principle. The Materialists are leading the world towards Godlessness and open rebellion against their Creator. As opposed to this theory and practice, the Muslims are a group of God-fearing people, who place their belief in the obedience to Allah. This faith enjoins on the Muslims not only to keep themselves away from the materialistic creed of the West, but also to show to the world their own God-fearing path. This duty cannot be performed by them successfully, unless the Muslims snatch back the leadership of the world from the materialists.

When a group of people, which is not God-fearing, becomes the leader of the world, owing to its superiority in Knowledge, then it formulates its view-points with the theory that, there is no Creator of this Universe, that man is an irresponsible being, that he is all-powerful and independent to conquer and rule over the earth, and that the main purpose of all his efforts is nothing else but to appease his physical needs. When Knowledge is accumulated on the basis of this dangerous theory, the result is that the entire human machinery runs towards the path of Godlessness. All human brains are affected by this dangerous creed and the morals are bred purely with material considerations. On these considerations, the regulations for human relations between man and woman are formed, and on them alone man fixes the goal of his acquired powers.

In short, the flow of the entire human life is directed towards an object that becomes hellish. So long as this Godless knowledge and intelligence will continue to dazzle and over-awe the human civilization and intellectual faculties, there will be no place between the earth and the heavens for the human culture, the foundation of which lies in the acknowledgement to Allah's Unity and Greatness. In such difficult and adverse circumstances, God-fearing people have to offer extraordinary struggle to

check the onslaught of Godlessness; however, it is a pity that, more often than not, they themselves are overwhelmed by the influences of materialism.

The group, which conquers the natural powers by its knowledge and makes use of it, its leadership encircles the entire arena of human activity; it reigns over the earth, controls the means of livelihood and becomes the virtual ruler of human affairs. The entire programme of collective human life follows the plan chalked out by it according to its mentality and outlook. It is apparent that, when a human group in power and authority is Godless, then it is not possible for any other group to turn towards God, while remaining under the former's atheistic authority. The same position today confronts the Muslim nations of Asia and Africa. After the removal of Muslims from power, the Western materialists replaced them in the field of knowledge and stooped down to Godlessness. With the tremendous power of knowledge, the Western materialists overpowered the world, which accepted the mentality, the aims and objects, the thinking trend, the moral ethics and the culture and civilization of its conquerors. First of all, it is extremely difficult, in this environment of Godless culture and civilization that, the Godfearing theory, aims and principles of life may appeal to the minds and hearts of human beings, because the entire trend of human life is diagonally opposed to it.

This is, more or less, the condition in which the Muslims find themselves to be at present. From the above scrutiny of existing conditions, the following four conclusions are obtained :—

(1) The God-fearing creed cannot survive under the Godless leadership. Therefore, it is incumbent on the God-fearing people to establish the God-fearing leadership in the world.

(2) The present educational system, which prevails in the Muslim countries, being un-Islamic, is not capable to prepare the Muslims for this universal and grand leadership. If the Muslims unfortunately agree on the complete eradication of the God-fearing creed in gradual stages from the world, then they may continue the present educational system; otherwise, it has to be replaced entirely by an Islamic educational system.

(3) The present educational system in Muslim countries is the carbon copy of the educational system in the materialistic West, and so is an effective prescription for atheism. Its benefit, if at all, is no more than some people's treading on the path of *kufir* (disbelief), while they are chanting the name of God.

(4) The method of the reformation in the educational system by providing an unmatched patch of 'Islamic learning' to the Godless un-Islamic modern educational system is defective, and cannot prepare the Muslims to cause the revolution that is necessary to regain the human leadership, because all the advanced sciences and organised learning of the present time are the result of the efforts of the materialistic group of the West. There is a serious dearth of persons capable of combining both the antagonistic systems in order to obtain from that mixture a synthesis, which may be strong enough to turn the trend of life of the people from un-Islamic to Islamic. Therefore, there is no other alternative than to prepare an entirely new educational system for the Muslims to start right from the primary classes going upto the highest degrees.

Chapter 5

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF ISLAM

THE Quran has rejected all superiority on account of language, colour of skin or other ineluctable incidences of nature and recognizes the only superiority of individuals as that based on piety. A common ideology is the basis of nationality among the Muslims, and Islam is this ideology. Islam distinguishes itself by the feature that, it does not exact the renunciation of the world, but insists on the body and soul growing and operating simultaneously. The past has shown that Muslims have assimilated this supra-racial and supra-regional brotherhood; and this sentiment is a living force among them. Naturalization is a feature now admitted among all nations, but to be naturalized in a new language, in a new colour of skin, and in a new land is not as easy as to adhere to a new ideology. Nationality among other civilizations is essentially an ineluctable accident of nature; while in Islam it is a thing depending solely upon the will and choice of the individual.

The duties and functions of a Muslim state seem to be four: Executive (for the civil and military administration), Legislative, Judicial and Cultural. The Executive does not require elaborate examination; it is self-evident and obtains everywhere in the world. The sovereignty belongs to God, and it is a trust which is administered by man for the well-being of everyone without exception. The Legislative competence in the Islamic society is based on the fact that there is the Quran, 'Word of God', which is the source of law in all walks of life, spiritual as well as temporal. In the domain of Judiciary, the equality of all men is ensured before law, in which even the head of a state is not exempt *vis-a-vis* his subjects. The Quran has ordained another important disposition. The non-Muslim inhabitants of the Islamic State enjoy a judicial autonomy. By Cultural duty, we mean the very *raison-d'être* of Islam, which seeks that the 'Word of God'

alone should prevail in this world. It is the duty of each and every individual Muslim, and *a fortiori* that of the Muslim government, not only to abide by the Divine law in daily behaviours, but also to **organize foreign missions in order to make others know what Islam stands for.** The basic principle, as the Quran says, is that "There is no compulsion in religion." Far from implying a lethargy and indifference, a perpetual and disinterested struggle is thereby imposed to persuade others of the well-foundedness of Islam.

Islam attaches no importance to the external form of government; it is satisfied if the well-being of man in both the worlds is cared for, and the Divine law applied. Thus, the constitutional question takes a secondary place and a republic or a monarchy, among other forms, are all valid in the Islamic community.

The importance and utility of consultation cannot be too much emphasized. The Quran commands the Muslims again to take their decisions after consultation, be it in a public matter or a private one. The practice of the Prophet has but reinforced this disposition. For, in spite of the exceptional quality of his being guided by the Divine revelations, the Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him) always consulted his companions and the representatives of the tribes of his adherents before taking any decision. The first Caliphs of Islam were not less ardent defenders of the consultative institutions.

In this respect also, the Quran does not prescribe hard and fast methods. The number, the form of election, the duration of representation etc., are left to the discretion of the leaders of every age and country. What is important is that one should be surrounded by representative personalities, enjoying the confidence of those whom they represent and possessing an integrity of character.

We may bring into relief the historic fact, that it was the Muslims who have not only developed international law, the first in the world, as a distinct discipline, but also have made it a part of law (instead of politics). So they composed special monographs on the subject under the name of *siyar* (conduct, i.e., of the ruler), and they also spoke of it in the general treatises of law. The basic principle of the system of international relations in Islam is, in the words of jurists, that "the Muslims and non-Muslims are equal (*sawa*) with regard to the sufferings of this world."

Until 1856, the Westerners reserved international law to Christian peoples; and since then they make a distinction between the civilized and

non-civilized peoples; these latter having still no rights. In the history of international law, Muslims have been the first—and so far also the only—to admit the rights of foreigners without any discrimination or reserve. The first Muslim state was founded and governed by the Prophet. It was the City-State of Medinah, a confederacy of autonomous villages, inhabited by Muslims, Jews, pagan Arabs and a handful of Christians. The very nature of this State demanded a religious tolerance, which was formally recognized in the constitution of this State. The first treaties of defensive alliance were concluded with non-Muslims and were always scrupulously observed. The Quran insists, in the most formal terms, on the obligation of fulfilling promises and on being just in this respect (with the sanction of punishment in the Hereafter). The jurists, too, have greatly insisted on the importance of the given word.

Islamic law does not admit exemptions in favour of the head of a State, who is as much subject to the jurisdiction of the courts as any other inhabitant of the country. The Muslim law of war is humane. It makes a distinction between belligerents and combatants; it does not permit the killing of minors, women, the very old, sick and monks. All killing or devastation beyond the strict indispensable minimum is forbidden; prisoners are well treated. In an interesting passage (47 : 35), the Quran enjoins peace and says:

"Do not falter, and cry for peace when ye are the uppermost; God is with you and He will not forget your (praiseworthy) actions."

The Quran attaches such an importance to the given word, that it does not hesitate (8: 72) to give it preference over the material interest of the Muslim community. It teaches us the 'Islamic Law of Neutrality' in the following terms :

".....with regard to those who believe (in Islam) but do not immigrate (into Islamic territory), ye have no duty to protect them till they immigrate; but if they seek help from you in the name of religion, then it is your duty to help (them) except against a folk between whom and you there is a treaty of peace (*mithaq*); and God is Seer of what you do."

Thus, it is evident that, Islam seeks to establish a world community, with complete equality among peoples, without distinction of race, class or country. It seeks to convert by persuasion, admitting no compulsion in religious beliefs, and every individual being personally responsible to God. To Islam, government signifies a trust, a service, in which the functionaries are the servants of the people. According to Islam, it is the duty of every individual to make a constant effort for spreading the good and hindering the evil; and God judges us according to our acts and intentions.

The foundation of the Political System of Islam, as we have seen, has been based on three principles : 1) Unity of God; 2) Prophethood; and 3) Caliphate. Without the proper comprehension of these principles, it is difficult to understand the detailed system of Islamic politics. The Unity or Oneness of God means that Allah is the Creator, Sustainer and Lord of this universe and its inhabitants. He is its true Ruler and Sovereign. He alone has the right to command to us what to do and what not to do. Only He deserves our indivisible obedience, worship and devotion. Our very existence, our body and its limbs, our physical and mental strength, our authorities over the contents of this universe—nay the contents themselves—nothing out of them has been created by us, and everything has been given to us by Allah and Allah alone.

Therefore, the fixation of the purpose of our existence, the use of our powers and the limitations of our authorities are neither our business nor anybody else is competent enough to interfere with them. They are in the hands of Allah, Who has created us with these powers and authorities and Who has made us the custodian of this universe. This principle of the Unity of God completely nullifies the human authority, be it a man, a family, a clan, a group of people, a nation or the entire humanity. No one else is the lord; the Lord is only Allah, Whose order is the Law.

The means, through which the 'Law of God' reaches the human beings, is known as Prophethood, which gives us two things: 1) the Book, in which God Himself has described His Law; and 2) the authentic explanation of the Book, which the Prophet, in his capacity as the Representative of Allah, offers by his words and deeds. The Book of God contains all the fundamental principles which should be the bases of the system of the human life. And the Prophet, according to the indications of the Book, has presented before us a practical example of the workable human system by his own life. The combination of these two factors is the *Shari'ah* in the Islamic legal nomenclature, and this is the fundamental constitution on which an Islamic State is established.

Now, take the Caliphate (*khilafat*). This word, in Arabic, means 'vicegerency'. According to the Islamic point of view, the real position of man in the world is, that he is the vicegerent of God on earth, i.e., he uses the authorities bestowed on him by God in His Dominions.

According to the political theory of Islam, the State is actually man's Caliphate under the overlordship of God, which, in the Dominions of Allah, is to fulfil His Will and Commands, according to His Instructions and within prescribed limitations. In connection with *Khilafat*, another

point, which deserves clarification, is that the Islamic conception does not earmark a particular person, family or clan for the Caliphate, but it entrusts this responsibility and dignity to the entire society, which believes in the fundamental principles of the Unity of God and the Prophethood, and which is willing to carry out all the conditions of vicegerency. Such a society is collectively the recipient of the Caliphate, which is represented by its every individual. This is the very point from where the democracy in Islam commences.¹

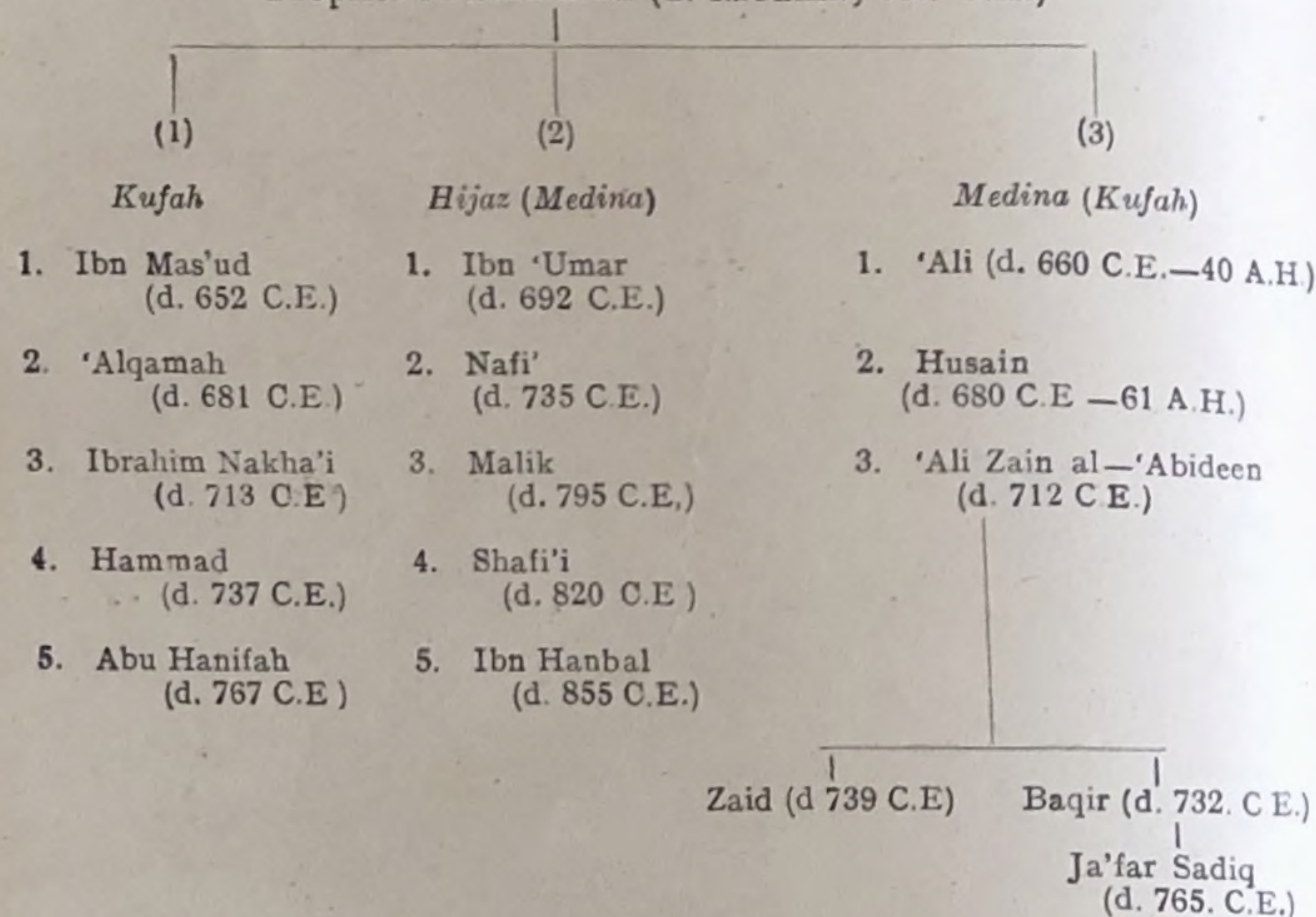
1. Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah, *Introduction to Islam*, Paris, 1949.

Chapter 6

THE LEGAL SYSTEM OF ISLAM

Different Schools of Islamic Law:—

Prophet Muhammad (d. Medina, 632 C.E.)



THE ancients have all had their particular laws, yet a science of law, abstract in existence and distinct from laws and codes, does not seem to have ever been thought of before Shafi'i (150-204H./767-820). The work of this jurist, *Risalah*, designates this science under the expressive name of 'Roots of Law', from which shoot the branches of the rules of human conduct. This science, called ever since *Usul al-Fiqh* among the Muslims, treats, simultaneously with the philosophy of law,

sources of rules, and principles of legislation, interpretation and application of legal texts. These laws, i.e., rules, are called *furu'* (branches) of this tree.

Among the novelties in the domain of fundamental notions of law, we may point out the vigorous conception of motive and intention (*niyah*) in acts. This notion is based on the celebrated saying of the Prophet of Islam: "The acts are not (to be judged) except by motives". Ever since, an intentional tort or crime, and the one caused involuntarily, have not been treated alike by the tribunals.

The Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him), who endowed his people with a statal organism, created out of nothing, promulgated a written constitution for this State, which was a City-State at first, yet embraced, only ten years later, at the time of the demise of its founder, the whole of the big Arabian peninsula, together with the southern portions of Iraq and Palestine. The written constitution, prepared by the Prophet Muhammad, comprising 52 clauses, has come down to us *in toto*. It treats with a variety of questions, such as the respective rights and duties of the ruler and the ruled, legislation, administration of justice, organization of defence, treatment of non-Muslim subjects, social insurance on the basis of mutuality, and other requirements of that age. The Act dates from 622 of the Christian era, i.e., the first year of the Hijrah.

The Muslims seem to have been the first to separate the science of public international law from the changing whims and fancies of the rulers of States, and to place it on a purely legal basis. Moreover, it is they who have left to posterity the oldest extant works on international law, developed as an independent science. They call it *siyar* (conduct, i.e., of the sovereign).

The first thing, which strikes the imagination of the reader of a manual on Islamic law is that, this law seeks to regulate the entire field of human life, in its material aspect as well as the spiritual one. Man is composed both of body and soul; and if government with all its enormous resources at its disposal attends exclusively to material affairs, the spirit would be famished, being left to its own private resources, very meagre in comparison with those available in temporal affairs. The unequal developments of body and soul will lead to lack of equilibrium in man, the consequences of which will, in the long run, be serious to civilization.

Another feature of Islamic law seems to be the emphasis laid on the co-relativity of right and obligation. Not only the mutual relations of men among themselves, but also those of man with his Creator are based on

the same principle; and cult is nothing other than the duty of man corresponding to the rights Providence has accorded him. To speak only of the 'rights of man', without simultaneously bringing into relief his duties, would be rendering him a rapacious beast, a wolf or a devil.

The classical jurists, among Muslims, place laws on the double basis of good and evil. One should do what is good and abstain from what is evil. The good and evils are sometimes absolute and self-evident, and at other times merely relative and partial. This leads us to the five-fold division of all judicial rules, both orders and injunctions. Thus, (1) all that is absolutely good would be an absolute duty, and one must do that; (2) everything which has a preponderant good would be recommended and considered meritorious; (3) things where both these aspects, of good and evil, are equal, or which have neither of them, would be left to the discretion of the individual to do or abstain from, at will; (4) things absolutely evil would be objects of complete prohibition; and, finally (5) things which have a preponderance of evil would be reprehensible and discouraged.

This basic division of acts or rules into five categories may have other sub-divisions. It remains to define and distinguish between the good and the evil. The Quran, which is the Word of God and a holy Book to Muslims, speaks of these on many occasions, and says that one must do the *ma'ruf* and abstain from the *munkar*. Now, *ma'ruf* means a good which is recognised as such by everybody and which is considered by reason to be good, and therefore is commanded. And, *munkar* means a thing which is denounced by everybody as not at all being good; an evil which is recognised as such by everybody; and that which is considered by reason to be evil would be forbidden. A very great part of Islamic morality belongs to this domain.

One meets among the members of the human race most varied temperaments, and these could be divided into three big categories: (1) those who are good and resist all temptations of evil, without in the least being compelled by anybody thereto; (2) those who are bad, and seek, by all means to escape even from the most strict supervision; and finally (3) those who behave in a suitable manner so long as they have a fear of reprisals, but who permit themselves injustice also when there are temptations with more or less probability of escaping from pursuit.

Unfortunately, the number of the individuals of the first category is very restricted; they need neither guides, nor sanctions against violation of laws. The other two categories require sanctions in the interest of the society. The disposition of the spirit to do harm to others may be a sickness, a remnant of the criminal bestiality, a result of bad education, or

due to some other cause. An attempt will be made to control and counteract the possible harm done by men of the second category, whose number fortunately is also not very great. There remains the third or the intermediate category of the very vast majority of men. They require sanctions, but of what kind?

It goes without saying that, if a chieftain has himself a bad conscience, having committed a prohibited thing, he would have little courage to reproach others about that same thing. Therefore, Islam has struck at the root and the source of this kind of evil, and declared that nobody is exempt from obligations, not even the sovereign, not even the Prophet. The teaching as well as the practice of the Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him), followed by his successors, requires that the head of the State should be fully capable of being cited before the tribunals of the country, without the least restriction. The Islamic tradition has been that judges never hesitated in practice to decide against their sovereigns in cases of default.

One does not require to mention in detail the material sanctions which exist in Islam even as in all other civilizations. But the conception of society, as envisaged by the Prophet of Islam, has added another sanction, perhaps more efficacious than the material one, that is the spiritual sanction. Maintaining all the administrative paraphernalia of justice, Islam has inculcated in the minds of its adherents the notion of the resurrection after death of Divine judgment and salvation or condemnation in the Hereafter. It is thus that, the believer accomplishes his obligations even when he has the opportunity of violating them with impunity, and he abstains from doing harm to others in spite of all the temptations and the enjoyment of security against risks of violation.

This triple sanction—(1) of rulers being equally subject to the general law; (2) material sanctions; and (3) spiritual sanctions, each element of which strengthens the efficacy of the other—tries to secure in Islam the maximum observance of laws and the realization of the rights and obligations of all.

In order to understand better the implication of the affirmation that God is the Supreme Legislator, we have to think of the different aspects of the question. Islam believes in One God, Who is not only the Creator of all, but also the Sustainer, *the sine qua non* of the very existence of the universe. He is not "placed on the retired list" after having created what He has created. Islam believes further that, God is Transcendent and beyond all physical perception of man, and that He is Omnipresent,

Omnipotent, Just and Merciful. Moreover, in His great mercy, He has given man not only reason but also guides, chosen from among men themselves, and instructed in the directions which are most wise and most useful to human society. God is Perfect and Eternal. Among men, on the contrary, there is a constant evolution: God does not change His opinions, but He does exact from men only according to their individual capacities. That is why there are divergencies, at least in certain details, among legislations, each of which claims to be based on Divine revelations.

Among Muslims, the Quran, which is a book in Arabic language, is the Word of God and Divine revelation received by the Prophet Muhammad, destined for his adherents. Moreover, in his quality of being the messenger of God, Muhammad, of the holy memory, has explained the sacred text, and given other directions; and these are recorded in *Hadith*, or the collection of the reports on the sayings and doings of Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him).

The laws, even those of the Divine origin or emanating from the Prophet, have not all the same range. Only some of these are obligatory; others are only recommended, while in the rest of the cases, the law leaves great margin to individuals. A study of the sources shows that the rules of the first category, i.e., the obligatory ones, are very few in number; the commendatory rules are a bit more numerous and cases of the silence of the text refer to numberless questions.¹

1. Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah. *Introduction to Islam*, Paris, 1949.

Chapter 7

THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF ISLAM

THE basic teaching of Islam with regard to economics is mentioned in several passages of the Quran. Far from despising material well-being, it orders: "and neglect not thy portion of this world" (Q.28:77). It lays, however, emphasis on the double composition of man, by reminding:

"...but of men is he who saith: Our Lord! give unto us in this world, and he hath no portion in the Hereafter. And of them is also he who saith; Our Lord! give unto us what is good in this world and what is good in the Hereafter, and guard us from the doom of Fire. For these, there is in store a goodly portion out of that which they have earned; God is swift at reckoning." (Q. 2:200-2).

In other verses, we find it stated with precision that, all that is found on earth has been created by God for the benefit of man; or that all that is on earth, in the heavens, the ocean, the stars and others have been made by God subservient to man.

The economic policy of Islam has also been explained in the Quran, in most unequivocal terms: "...so that this (wealth), may not circulate solely among the rich from among you..." (Q.59:7). It is on the basis of this fundamental principle that Islam has constructed all its economic system. It makes, on the one hand, a distinction between the necessary minimum and the desirable plenitude, and, on the other hand, between those orders and injunctions which are accompanied by material sanctions and those which are not so, but for which Islam contents itself with persuasion and education only.

Most emphatic terms have been employed by Islam to show that to beg charity of others is something abominable, and it would be a source

of shame on the day of Resurrection; yet simultaneously unlimited praise has been bestowed on those who come to the aid of others, the best men being in fact those who make a sacrifice and prefer others to their own-selves. Similarly, both avarice and waste are prohibited. We are afforded an opportunity of determining the limits of the discretionary choice beyond the obligatory minimum of the duties *vis-a-vis* the other members of the society. Both, the individual right of disposing of one's wealth and the collective right in-as-much-as one is a member of society, must be simultaneously satisfied. Islam desires the circulation of wealth among as large a number of people as possible, taking into account the interests of the family. One has also obligations as a member of a bigger family, viz., society and the State in which one lives. In the economic sphere, one pays taxes, which the government redistributes in the interests of the collectivity.

In the time of the Prophet, there were agricultural taxes, and the peasants handed over a tenth of the harvest, provided that it was above a certain taxless minimum. In commerce and exploitation of mines, one paid 2½% of the value of goods. As for the import taxes, on foreign caravan-leaders there is an interesting fact which should profitably be brought into relief: In the time of the Prophet, these were subject to a tithe as customs duty; Caliph 'Umar reduced by half this tax on foreigners, concerning certain categories of victuals imported in Medinah. This precedent of high authority provides us the possibility of penetrating the inner principles of the fiscal policy of Islam. In the time of the Prophet, there were taxes on herds of camel, sheep, goats and oxen, provided they were fed on public pastures and exceeded in number the taxless minimum. Exemption was accorded further to beasts of burden and those employed for ploughing and irrigating. There was a tax of 2½% on savings and on silver and gold. This obliged people to employ their wealth for increase, and not leave it in idle hoarding.

The Quran (9:60) has prescribed the principles regulating the budget of State expenditure in Islam, in the following terms:

"Verily the *sadaqat* (i.e., taxes on Muslims) are only for (1) the poor, (2) the needy, (3) those who work for these (taxes), (4) those whose hearts are to be reconciled, (5) to free the necks (i.e., slaves and prisoners of war), (6) the heavily indebted, (7) in the path of God, and (8) for the wayfarer—a duty imposed by God; God is Knower, Wise".

These eight heads of expenditure, which cover practically all the needs of a collectivity, require some explanation for grasping their exact range and application.

(1) The term *sadaqat*, which we translate as the State tax on

Muslims, and which is a synonym of *zakat*, signifies all the taxes paid by Muslims to their government, in normal times. These exclude the provisional taxes imposed in abnormal times, the revenues levied on non-Muslims—subjects or foreigners—and also all the non-obligatory contributions. Contemporary literature, and particularly the sayings of the Prophet leave no doubt that the term *sadaqat* was employed in this sense. It was not at all the alms, which can be neither obligatory nor determined as to the quantity and the time of payment. The equivalent for alms is *infaq fi sabil Allah* (expenditure in the path of God).

(2) The first two categories of the poor (*fuqara'*) and the needy (*masakeen*), which are almost synonymous, have not been explained by the Prophet; hence a divergence of opinion. The jurist Al-Shafi'i thought that the terms were absolutely synonymous, and that God, out of His Bounty, named them twice in order to provide for them more. According to this authority, each of the eight heads in the Quranic verse should receive one-eighth of the State income; therefore, the poor would receive two-eighths. Be it what it may, the first duty of the State is to see that no dweller on the Islamic soil is deprived of the means of livelihood: food, dress, lodging etc.

(3) Thereafter come the salaries of the functionaries; collectors, accountants, controllers of expenditure, auditors of accounts etc. This category comprises the entire administration, civil, military and diplomatic, as one can see in the description of the categories of the beneficiaries.

(4) As regards the category of those, whose hearts are to be reconciled, the jurist Abu Ya'la al-Farra' says: "As to those whose hearts are to be won, they are of four kinds: (i) Those whose hearts are to be won for their coming to the aid of the Muslims; (ii) or for abstaining from doing harm to the Muslims; (iii) for inviting them to embrace Islam; and (iv) for inviting through them their clans and families to embrace Islam. It is lawful to spend on each and every one of these whether they be Muslims or polytheists".

(5) By the term, "freeing the necks", one has always understood two kinds of expenditure; the liberation of slaves, and ransoming of the prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy.

(6) The category of those, who are heavily indebted, has, according to the practice of classical times, a whole series of applications: one helped those who had suffered calamities such as inundation, earthquake etc.

Caliph 'Umar started a special section in the public treasury, in order to lend money, free of interest, to those who had temporary needs and provided the necessary guarantees for repayment. The Caliph himself had recourse to it for his private needs. It goes without saying that the 'nationalization' of lending without interest was the necessary concomitant of the prohibition of interest in Islam. The same Caliph used to lend public money even to merchants for fixed periods, and the treasury participated with them in a percentage of their business returns, participated not only in gains, but also in eventual losses. Another application of this State expenditure was for a kind of social insurance.

(7) The expression, "in the path of God", in the Islamic terminology, signifies first military defence, for the personnel as well as for equipment etc. The term applies in fact to all sorts of charitable works, such as helping students, collaborating in the religious causes, such as the construction of mosques etc.

(8) The last category concerns tourist traffic in a wide sense: construction of bridges, roads, hotels, restaurants, security of routes (police included), hygienic conditions and transport of travellers, and each and every comfort of aliens in the course of their journeying, including extension of hospitality to them without charge according to the means available. Formerly, such hospitality was assured for three days in every place of stay.

In order to appreciate the value of these dispositions, one must recall that it refers to the time of the beginning of Islam, fourteen centuries ago. There is not much that could be added to these heads of expenditure. They seem to be as well applicable to our own times in a progressive and welfare State, with a concern for the well-being of its subjects.

The *sadaqat* were the only taxes of the State in the time of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs. In later times, on occasions of extraordinary need, the jurists have admitted the legal possibility of imposing supplementary charges, on strictly provisional basis, for possible exigencies. Such taxes are called *nawa'ib* (calamities).

Only risks involving heavy charges, from objects of insurance, and these differ according to the times and social conditions. Among the Arabs of the commencement of Islam, insurances against captivity and against assassination were a real need. Already in the time of the Prophet, this point had received attention and certain dispositions were made, which had the capacity of further development and adaptation to circumstances.

Thus, in the Constitution of the City-State of Medinah of the first year of the Hijrah, this insurance was called *ma'aqil*. The Prophet organized an insurance on the basis of mutuality: the members of a tribe could count on the central treasury of their tribe, to which everybody contributed according to his means. The Prophet ordered that the Meccan refugees there, who belonged originally to various tribes of Mecca, or were Abyssinians, or belonged to Arabs of different regions, should all constitute a new 'tribe' of their own, for the requirement of the said social insurance.

Chapter 8

ISLAM'S COMPATIBILITY WITH THE LAWS OF NATURE

THE holy Quran claims that Islam and Nature are not two different things. Accordingly, the religion fulfils the individual and collective natural demands of humanity, which are unalterable. From this Quranic claim emanate the following four inferences :

1. God has created human beings in consonance with His Nature.
2. Religion is not the name of a collection of external rites and traditions, but is the result of the internal natural demands of man.
3. Similarly, the religion is not a combination of some rules and regulations, changeable according to the changes in circumstances, but is the embodiment of unalterable principles, based on human nature.
4. Religion is another name of the effort at compatibility with Nature. Therefore, obedience to religion actually entails to obedience to human nature.

Now, the question is as to why Islam then needs external compulsion and legal pressure to make the Muslims obedient to the religious commands. Quran gives the answer. It says that, the religious commands, being based absolutely on the correct and positive natural needs of humanity, are not compulsions at all. However, if moral conscience and religious consciousness are not agreeable to the execution and obedience of these commands, then, of course, all the compulsions and pressures become void.

Religious regulations are, in other words, natural demands. Religion orders a man to do only the things which his own natural morality demands him to do. Religious regulations never aim to make human life miserable or restricted. Quran also claims that true prophets were sent by God to liberate humanity from unnatural bondages in which they were bound. Besides, according to the Quran, prophets forbade only the

things which were rejected by human nature, and recommended those that were demanded by it.

Except human beings, all other creatures and creation of God are strictly obedient to the Laws of Nature. The sun, the moon, other planets and stars as well as animals, all, act according to the dictates of Nature. It is only the man who revolts against the Laws of Nature. Therefore his religion can only be complete when he refrains from this rebellion, and follows the demands of Nature. According to the Quran, ignorance of the laws and mysteries of Nature is the biggest source of human vices and the greatest cause of the denial of the guidance of God.

The Quranic claim that, Islam, as a religion, which is based strictly on the Laws of Nature, does not impress those persons who have drawn a wrong imaginary picture of Nature in their mind. Similarly, the materialists and the atheists, who believe the universe to be ruled by the physical and chemical laws, and consider the human life, intentions, consciousness, ambitions, and spiritual and moral instincts sequences of the same material and scientific processes, do not believe in the claims of the holy Quran. Therefore, if we want to understand thoroughly the aforesaid Quranic claims, then we will have to determine the correct Islamic interpretation of Nature. Owing to the non-comprehension of the correct meaning of Nature and due to the rejection of Islam as the religion based strictly on its Laws, the Muslims have lost the incentive to follow them, with the result that, they have lagged behind other progressive nations in the race of scientific advancement, arts and learning, culture and civilization.

The whole contention between science and religion about Nature is that, the religion considers the intention, consciousness, will and the spiritual and moral qualities of man as real and natural, and affirms the progression of the universe to be meaningful and with purpose. On the contrary, the materialists and atheists continue to reject the universe as meaningless and without purpose. They deny that, man's intentions, consciousness, will or moral feeling can bring about any real effect on his physical, material or cultural life. The materialists claim that, the whole phenomenon of the universe is based on the law of movement of Matter, and the life or spirit has no control over the physical and chemical laws of this Matter. Human intention, consciousness, will, religion and morals all are, according to them, the subservient products and passive reflections of material movement, which cannot affect the life and its culture.

Islam and other revealed religions, like Christianity and Judaism, reject this doctrine and insist that, the laws of the world of Matter are subordinate to some other superior laws, and that, the aims, objects or

values of life are not the subservient product of Matter, but possess real meaning and power. Thus, according to Islam, the universe, as a whole, is meaningful and not a movement of progression without purpose.

Modern science has accepted the fact that, there are some other forces of Nature over the material or mechanical Nature, for example, Organic Nature and Psychic Nature. The materialists, nevertheless, consider these superior forces of Nature, too, subordinate to the laws of Physical Nature, and claim that, there is no need to accept the existence of a non-materialistic or spiritual power for the description of the functions and deeds of both the aforesaid superior forces of Nature. This is the real bone of contention between the materialists and the believers in religion.

The materialists claim that, in all the phases of Nature—Spiritual, Organic or Psychic—the laws of the movements of Matter (mechanical force) have the supreme power, which control all the physical, mental and spiritual actions of humanity. Thus, according to them, all human activities are compulsorily the products of the same laws of Matter, and human independence and authority are unreal. Therefore, in their opinion, all the dogmas of religion and morals are only the passive products of Matter, which bring about no real impression on human life.

This belief in Materialism or Mechanism caused tremendous harm to humanity, because it disgraced man, demoting him from his human dignity and placed him in perpetual servitude to the Law of Matter. It negated the human intentions and ambitions and blocked the way of progression in self-consciousness, endeavour and emancipation. This belief eliminated any difference between barbarism and civilization. A worshipper of science and materialism does not see beyond matter and body. So, he considers all those efforts useless, which direct humanity towards the attainment of spiritual and moral enlightenment. He is satisfied with the appeasement of animal urges only.

Those, who have made a thorough study of the religious sanctions and teachings of Islam, are aware of the fact that, Islam does not insist to be familiar with the laws of spiritual life alone. According to Islam, pure spiritualism, which deprives a person from experiencing material and social sides of life, is not Islamic spiritualism. The latter demands humanity to activate in all the fields of mundane endeavour. Therefore, Islam insists to take care of life and physical well-being. It is against asceticism and self-torture for religious purposes. Islam even advises the Muslims to fulfil their sexual urge legally to remain healthy and fit.

Chapter 9

ISLAM'S CORRECT APPROACH TO LIFE BETWEEN CONSERVATISM AND ULTRA-MODERNISM

AN IMPORTANT cause of the decline of Muslims is the blind obstinacy with which they insist upon the maintenance of hackneyed conventions. Serious are the dangers to a nation from men who condemn everything old as absurd and worthless, without giving thought to their intrinsic value, simply because they are old; no less serious are the dangers that arise from the conservative school which insists that no change can be permissible in anything. If anyone endeavours to introduce suitable reforms in the system of Muslim education, they would oppose it, saying that all these modern systems are the discoveries of the unbelievers and that emulation of unbelievers will amount to unbelief.

Thus, these sophisticated ultra-moderns and the conservative conventionalists are ruining Islam between themselves. The negatory sophists persist in destroying the national individuality of the Muslims and making them disown their historic traditions. Only the mean and the low-minded can entertain the idea that man should disown his heritage, that he should look upon his forbears as 'fools' and 'savages', and that he should dissociate himself from them and disclaim all kinship with them.

Every nation is acquiring knowledge, advancing, progressing and soaring higher and higher to the skies. Every nation is contented with and cherishes its heritage. But, the Muslims alone, unfortunately, seem to feel that they would be denied progress unless they break all connections with history, throw the Quran overboard, cast their beliefs to the winds, their values of right and wrong, their tastes, instincts and ideals, their

customs and their traditions ; unless they do this, they believe, they will never know what progress is.

These are the dangers that arise from the negative-minded, ultra-modern sophists, who mislead the innocent and simple folk with their dangerous reasoning, and bear the utmost ill-will for Islam and the Eastern nations.

As for the conservative Muslims, they are, as a cause of the ruin of Islam, not a bit behind those sophists who contradict everything disagreeable to their whims. Their actions are the outcome of their ignorance, obscurantism and blind dogmatism. It is these dogmatists who encourage the enemies of Islamic culture to attack it, pick holes in it, and argue that the teachings of Islam are responsible for the decline and fall of the Muslims.

It is these dogmatists, who have made the Muslims helpless victims of poverty and indigence by reducing Islam to a religion of mere other-worldly pre-occupations. The one unique characteristic of Islam is that, it is concerned equally with life here as in the Hereafter. Unlike some other religions, it does not reserve the rewards and retributions of human efforts and actions for a future life beyond the grave. It does not enjoin the renunciation of all material wealth, comforts and pleasures. Nor does it accept the view that human efforts and actions must be governed solely by considerations of worldly and material happiness, as is implied in the trends of Western civilization and Communistic philosophy.

It is these conservatives who declared war on natural sciences and all creative arts, condemned them as the practices of infidels, and thereby deprived the Muslims of the fruits of science. Thus, when all our efforts are directed towards the acquisition of the other-worldly knowledge alone, we are rendered weak and powerless among the nations that are engaged in acquiring worldly power and wealth.

It is not Allah's Will that we should live like this. The Quran says "It is He Who has created for you, all things that are on earth".

These dogma-ridden people do not perceive that, by their exclusive insistence on the other-worldly life, they are casting their own brethren into the abyss of degradation and depriving them of their position of honour and prestige among the nations. They are not alive to the dangers and calamities that follow from their indifference to the study of science, which is the real cause of the poverty that is rampant among them and of their dependence on their enemies, who do not possess a shred of sympathy

for them. And, at times, they catch a glimpse of their own appalling condition; they try to console themselves with the excuse of indolence : "It is our fate". This has always been the condition of the lazy in the world who depend on fate.

It is this state of lazy fatalism, which has made the idle life appear comfortable to many Muslims with the consequence that there has sprung up among them a class of people who bear the titles, of *dervesh*, *peer* and *aamil*. They have no trade, no profession, no calling. They are but the paralysed and insensate limbs of the body politic of Islam. It is these paralytics who have prompted the non-Muslims to brand Islam as a fatalistic creed that, 'what is written in fate will happen whether one strives or not'.

In order to show the sheer absurdity of these delusions, there is no testimony more authentic than that of the Quran, which is teeming with verses that inspire man to a life of action, awaken his intellectual faculties, stir up his spirit and teach him that good and evil, success and failure, follow in accordance with his actions. Allah says :

"Whoever works righteousness, man or woman, and has Faith; verily, to him will We give a new life, a life that is good and pure, and We will bestow on them such reward according to the best of their actions" (16 : 97).

These and many other verses directly bear upon the topic under discussion. Islam is not a religion that fosters idleness and inactivity. On the contrary, these verses of the Holy Quran clearly prove that, it is a religion which inspires man to a life of intense activity and constant striving. The idle *derveshes* go about preaching that "God has given us our livelihood whether we toil or not". Many non-Muslim writers misrepresent Islam as a religion that bids man submit to whatever happens, taking it all for the best, and tell the Muslims that they owe their decline and fall to their own religion. But, it is clear from the relevant Quranic verses that, Islam is not a religion that inculcates faith in an inexorable fate.

The submission of the Companions of the Prophet of Islam (May peace be on him) was synonymous with action, effort and enterprise. The worthy Companions set the example of active submission to God. Theirs was not a 'passive obsequious submission', but one that was most beneficent and fruitful for man's life here as well as in the Hereafter, because it shielded man against his egoism and over-confidence arising from success in his enterprises, as well as against despondency over his failure in others.

The quintessence of Islamic teaching is that, man should make proper use of his intellect, which God has given him as a guiding light to

help him think for himself, and that, having done everything in his power, he should resign himself to the Will of God, for the happy fructification of his labour. He must know that he cannot hold everything in the palm of his hand, and that there are forces which are beyond the range of his comprehension. This is the truth.

Islam, by its very nature and genius, is a revolt against all degenerate traditions. It dug the grave for the abominable and debased traditions and usages of old and cut off all relationship with what was false and untrue. How can it then be called a religion of static inaction and conservatism! There are many verses to be found in the Quran, which urge men to rebel against and do away with ancient traditions and conventions which run counter to the purposes of Islam.

Chapter 10

WOMAN IN ISLAM

WHILE studying the principal Islamic rights and obligations of the woman, it must be pointed out, at the very outset, that, in spite of the capacity of Muslim law to adapt itself and to develop according to circumstances, there will be no question of recognizing the liberty, which a woman enjoys today, in fact and in practice, in certain sections of social life, both in the capitalistic and communistic West. Islam demands that a woman should remain a reasonable being. It does not expect her to become either an angel or a demon. If one wants to compare or contrast her position in Islam with that in other civilizations or legal systems, one should take into consideration all the facts, and not merely isolated practices.

The position of mother is very exalted in Islamic tradition. The Prophet Muhammad has gone so far as to say; "Even paradise lies underneath the feet of your mothers".

As for the woman as wife, the saying of the Prophet is well known: "The best among you is the one who is best towards his wife".

With regard to woman as a daughter, the Islamic attitude can be guessed from the reproaches which the Quran makes against the pagan, pre-Islamic behaviour at the birth of daughters:

"And they assign unto God daughters—be He purified (from this)—and unto themselves what they desire (i.e., sons); and when if one of them receiveth tidings of the birth of a female, his face remaineth darkened, and he is wrath inwardly. He hideth himself from the folk because of the evil of that whereof he hath tidings, (asking himself) shall he keep it in contempt, or bury it beneath the dust? Verily evil is their judgment". (Q. 16: 57-9).

The Quran reminds ceaselessly that God has created all things in pairs, and for procreation both the sexes are equally indispensable, each one having its particular function. And it proclaims: "...unto men a fortune from that which they have earned, and unto women a fortune from that which they have earned" (4 : 32.)

Nature has not willed a perfect equality among the two sexes, but a distribution of avocations and functions. If there is a certain natural inequality between the two sexes, in many other aspects of life they resemble each other. Therefore, their attributes in these domains will also be similar.

This sums up, in some way, the Islamic teaching on woman : she is considered equal to man in certain respects and not so in certain others. This could be understood better in the description of her obligations and her rights, as under :—

In religious matters, her first duty, even as that of man, is to believe in the Oneness of God, which is the only means of salvation in the Hereafter. Among the religious practices, it is incumbent upon women, as also upon men, to celebrate the services of worship, though with certain concessions.

Let us recall another source of so many misfortunes and that is alcohol. It is the express duty of every Muslim to abstain from it. The Quran calls it "the work of Satan." Its hygienic, economic, moral and other evils are too well known to require description. Alcoholic drinks have a particular connection with the woman. It is she who nourishes her baby with her blood, then with her milk, thus transmitting her health or her ailment to her baby, to the new generation and to the future of humanity.

A very comprehensive duty is that of morality. If spirituality is our duty in our relations with our Creator, morality has the same place in our mutual relations with our fellow-beings. In its ardent desire to attack the very sources of evil, and not merely on certain of its manifestations, Islam has imposed, recommended, or otherwise encouraged certain practices, which astonish us sometimes, if we do not take into consideration their profound motives. All religions say that fornication and adultery are crimes, but Islam would go farther and would prescribe means to diminish the temptations. It is easy to hope that every one would develop one's individual morality in order to resist the temptations ; but it is wiser to diminish the occasions in which weak characters—which constitute the majority of men—would engage in a battle where defeat is a foregone conclusion.

It is thus that the Quran (24 : 30-1) exhorts :

"Tell the believing men to lower their gaze and be chaste; that is purer for them; lo, God is aware of what they do. And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be chaste and to display of their adornment only that which is apparent, and to draw their veils over their bosoms"

The life of a recluse is nowhere recommended. The only purpose of the veil is to diminish occasions of attraction, and to protect women from the wickedness of men, as is observed elsewhere in the Quran (33 : 59). In every epoch of Islamic history, including the time of the Prophet, one sees Muslim women engaged in every profession that suits them. They worked as nurses, teachers, and even as combatants by the side of men when needed, in addition to being hair-dressers and cooks etc. Caliph 'Umar employed a woman as the inspector of the market of the capital (Madinah). The jurists admit the possibility of women working as judges of tribunals and there are several examples of the kind. In brief, far from becoming a parasite, a woman could collaborate with men, in the Muslim society, to earn her livelihood and to develop her talents.

According to the Quran (30 : 21.) :

"And of His signs is this : He created for you helpmates from yourselves that ye may find rest in them, and He ordained between you love and mercy".

Women and men mutually form complements of one another (Q. 2:187) ; therefore, they should accommodate one another for their mutual interest. Two equals cannot be in accord with each other in a hundred per cent of cases; one requires mutual concessions in the interests of the home and for better comprehension inside the family. The counsel of the Quran (4 : 19), given to husband regarding the treatment of the wife, provides food for thought:

".....but consort with them in kindness, for if ye hate them it may happen that ye hate a thing wherein God hath placed much good."

In fact, the wiser one is the greater the concession one makes especially when one is also more powerful.

Prophet Muhammad has given us a very wise counsel on marriage :

"Do not marry only for the sake of beauty; may be the beauty becomes the cause of moral degradation. Do not marry even for the sake of wealth; may be the wealth becomes the reason of insubordination. Marry rather on the ground of religiosity",. (Ibn Majah).

As Islam regulates all domains of life, it goes without saying that, the one who observes scrupulously one's religious duties, he

is the more apt to create peace at home. On another occasion, the Prophet said :

"The world is an ephemeral thing, of which one takes temporary advantage; and among the worldly things nothing is better than a good (pious) wife".
(*idem*).

Al-Tirmidhi and *al-Nasa'i* report another saying of the Prophet :

"The most perfect believer is the one who has a most perfect character and is kind to one's wife."

As we have just remarked, Islam attaches particular importance to morality. Hence, it is that promiscuity is asked to be suppressed by all means. This obligation of chastity is reciprocal.

The Quran abolished inequality and delicts against the woman were placed on the same level as those against the man, whether they concerned person or property or honour. One may even say that, in certain cases, the rights of woman are more important. The Quran seems to require the purging of society from the evil of inconsiderate talks, particularly in matters where injury is easy to inflict and difficult to remedy. According to the Islamic law, the woman possesses a most absolute right over her property. If she has attained majority, she may dispose of it according to her will without having recourse to anybody else, whether it be her father, brother, husband or son or any other person. There is no difference in this matter between a man and a woman. The property of a woman cannot be touched even if her husband or father or any other relative has obligations exceeding what he possesses.

It is true that Islam permits polygamy, but, on this point, Muslim law is more elastic and more in harmony with the requirements of society than the other systems of law which admit polygamy in no case. Western law would rather permit immorality than a legal marriage to bring happiness to an afflicted home. In fact, Muslim law is nearer to reason. For, it admits polygamy, when a woman herself consents to such a kind of life. The law does not impose polygamy, but only permits it in certain cases. It depends solely on the agreement of the woman. This is true of the first wife as well as with the second one in prospect. It goes without saying that, the second woman may refuse to marry a man who has already one wife. No one can force a woman to enter into a marriage tie without her own consent. If the woman agrees to be a 'co-wife', it is not the law, which would be considered as cruel and unjust with regard to woman and as favouring only men. As to the first wife, the act of polygamy depends on her. Polygamy is not the rule, but only an exception; and this exception has multifarious advantages, social as well as other, and the Islamic law is proud of this elasticity.

Chapter 11

NON-MUSLIMS IN ISLAM

IT is common knowledge that Islam has rejected all notions of nationality and selected only the identity of ideas—a thing which depends upon the choice of man and not upon the accidents and hazards of birth—as the basic tie of its society and factor of union. Naturalization and assimilation in such a society are not only easy and accessible to all human races in their entirety, but are also closer to reason and more practical showing how to live in peace and tranquility. One should not forget the great practical importance attached to the fact that the Muslims obey their system of law as something of Divine origin, and not merely the will of the majority of the leaders of the country. Without entering here into the question of the adaptability of Islamic laws to the exigencies of social evolution, it is incontestable that there is greater stability in the Muslim law—due to its Divine origin—than in any other secular legislation whatsoever.

Now, the Islamic law ordains justice to, and observance of, certain rules regarding the non-Muslims. These latter, therefore, feel no apprehension in the face of political quarrels and parliamentary elections of the country of their residence, with regard to the Islamic laws in force. Religiously speaking, the believers and unbelievers cannot of course be equals in the Hereafter. As to the life in this world, however, Muslim jurists have, at all times, revealed the greatest equality compatible with their system between the 'relatives' and the 'strangers' as we shall presently see. There is the question of religious tolerance. The Quran prescribes (2 : 256) that, there should be no compulsion in religion. The residing subjects as well as the temporary sojourners have an assurance regarding their safety and the liberty of their conscience. There is the question of

hospitality and asylum, regarding which the theoretical position is strengthened by the practice of more than a thousand years. There is the well-known verse of the Quran (9 : 6):

"And if anyone of the pagans seeketh thy asylum (O Muhammad), then give him asylum.....and afterwards convey him to his place of safety....."

The victims of racial, religious, political and other persecutions have always found refuge and shelter in the land of Islam.

When Prophet Muhammad settled down in Madinah, he found there complete anarchy, the region having never known before a state or a king to unite the tribes torn by internecine feuds. In just a few weeks, he succeeded in rallying all the inhabitants of the region into order. He constituted a City-State, in which Muslims, Jews, pagan Arabs and probably also a small number of Christians, all, entered into a statal organism by means of a social contract.

The constitutional law of this first 'Muslim' State—which was a confederacy as a sequence of the multiplicity of the population groups—has come down to us *in toto*, and we read therein not only the clause: "To Muslims their religion, and to Jews their religion," or "that there would be benevolence and justice", but even the unexpected clause :

"The Jews.....are a community (in alliance) with—according to Ibn Hisham and in the version of Abu-'Ubaid, a community (forming part) of—the believers (i.e., Muslims)".

At the time of the constitution of this City-State, the autonomous Jewish villages acceded, of their free will, to the confederal State, and recognized Muhammad as their supreme political head. Some months after the establishment of this City-State, we see Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him) concluding treaties of defensive alliance and mutual aid with the pagan Arabs of the neighbourhood of Madinah.

In the year 2 A. H., the pagans of Mecca sent a diplomatic mission to Abyssinia, in order to demand of the Negus the 'extradition' of Meccan Muslims who had taken refuge in his country. To counteract their machinations, the Prophet also sent, in his turn, an ambassador for interceding with the Negus in favour of the Muslims who had sought asylum in his country due to religious persecution by their co-citizens. This ambassador of Islam was 'Amr ibn Umayyah al-Damri, 'who had not yet embraced Islam'. All non-Muslims, who had accepted Muslim domination and did not seek its overthrow in collusion with foreigners, welcomed their exemption from military service. They could, thus, pursue

in tranquility the avocations of their livelihood and prosper, while the Muslims would be engaged in military duties with all the attendant risks. So, the non-Muslims paid a little supplementary tax, the *jizyah*—of which the women and the poor from among the non-Muslims were exempt—which was neither heavy nor unjust. In the time of the Prophet, the *jizyah* amounted to ten dirhams annually, which represented the expenses of an average family for ten days. In the beginning of Islam, this tax did not exist in the Muslim State, either in Madinah or elsewhere. It was towards the year 9 A.H., that the Quran ordained it.

It may be noted that, in the time of the caliphs there were non-Muslim slaves, male and female, belonging to Muslims and living along with their masters at Mecca, Madinah, etc. A celebrated case of free non-Muslims is that of the Christian doctor, whose consultation rooms were just below the minaret of the mosque of the *Ka'bah* (Mecca). We may also recall the directions of the Prophet, on his death-bed :

"Observe scrupulously the protection accorded by me to non Muslim subjects" (*cf. al-Mawardi*).

Another saying of the Prophet is :

"Whoever oppresses the non-Muslim subjects, I shall be their advocate on the Day of Resurrection (against the oppressing Muslims)".

The directions as well as the practice of the Prophet constitute the highest law for Muslims.

Islam has desired the co-ordination of all the aspects of life, spiritual as well as temporal. Hence, the fact that the leading of the prayer-service in the mosque (*Imamat*) is a duty and privilege of the head of the State or the head of the region. If one takes into consideration this state of things, one will understand easily why a non-Muslim subject cannot be elected the head of a Muslim State.

But, this exception does, on no account, imply the exclusion of non-Muslim subjects from the political and administrative life of the country. Ever since the time of the Caliphs, non-Muslims are seen attaining the rank of ministers in Muslim states. A parallel practice has not been witnessed in the secular democracies of the world, where Muslim subjects are not wanting.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of Islam, in its attitude regarding the non-Muslims, is the award of social and judicial autonomy. The Prophet and his successors in Islam have conceded to every

non-Muslim community, from among the subjects of the Islamic State, a judicial autonomy, not only for personal status, but also for all the affairs of life—civil, penal and others. In the time of the Orthodox Caliphs, for instance, we find evidence of contemporary Christians attesting to the fact that the Muslim government had abandoned, in favour of Christian priests, a great quantity of temporal judicial powers. In the time of the 'Abbasid caliphs, we find the Christian patriarch and the Jewish rabbi among the highest dignitaries of the State, connected directly with the Caliph. In the time of the Prophet, the Jews of Madinah had their *Bait al-Midrās* (an educational institute). In the treaty with the Christians of Najran (Yemen), the Prophet had given the guarantee not only for the security of the person and property of the inhabitants, but had also expressly left the nomination of bishops and priests to the Christian community itself.

In an Islamic State, non-Muslims constitute a protected community (*dhimmi*). Therefore, it is the duty of the government to protect the legitimate interests of these 'strangers'. Hence, it is that we see, during the 'Abbasid caliphate that, far from seeking the assimilation of 'strangers' by force, the government discouraged all imitation of one by the other: Muslims, Christians, Jews, Magians and others conserved their own modes of dress, their social manners and their distinctive individualities. Only a total assimilation, through religious conversion, was sought, and not a confusion of communities. It is proof enough that this thing has nothing to do with the religious exigencies of Islam—and in the time of the Prophet there is absolutely no trace of it—but a condition of life, suiting the social conceptions of the epoch; and its essential purpose was to hold, in the highest regard, the religious community of each individual. It was desired in this way to protect the culture of everyone, so that its intrinsic values and defects should come more into relief. In passing, it may be repeated that the conception of nationality in Islam is based neither on an ethnic source nor on the place of birth, but on the identity of ideology, i.e. of religion.

The person, property and honour of every individual, whether indigenous or heterogenous, are fully protected in the Islamic territory. The *Sharh al-Hidayah*, which is a legal manual of current use, employs, for instance, the characteristic expression: "Defamation is prohibited, be it concerning a Muslim or a protected (non-Muslim)". The jurists are unanimous in declaring that, if a Muslim violates a non-Muslim woman, he will receive the same punishment as is prescribed against the violation of a Muslim woman.

Chapter 12

ISLAMIC CULTURE

A QUESTION has been raised and repeated more than once: 'What is the Muslim culture and where is it to be found?' There was a time when such a question could hardly have been even conceived. Attempts are, however, being made now to treat the culture of the Muslims in particular as of no consequence in our present state of modern civilization. Its very existence in any dynamic form at the present day is doubted and challenged, causing uneasiness among the Muslim intellectuals.

On the face of it, the question is a simple one, and can be answered in a simple straight-forward manner from an intellectual plane. Unfortunately, however, as everybody knows, the question has been dictated by reasons not purely intellectual, dictated more to operate as a check against the Muslim's desire to safeguard the interests of his culture than to elicit information that may help us to understand and appraise its value to life. Every culture is a living organism. Very often it proceeds from the life of a people only to react on it and receive further volition, and it develops or decays with the life of the people who sustain it. In a few cases, it functions as a living idea, and satisfies some spiritual law of life. It then reacts on humanity at large and introduces a harmony in the clashing interests of class, colour and race. It has no particular habitation of its own, and gives its name to the place it travels and to the people who react to it. If the hands that hold it grow weak, it does not drop itself and disappear. It passes on to other hands and transfers its name to them.

Thus, it lives and moves on. We do not judge it by the hands that tremble to hold it, but by the hands that have held it firmly or by the

hands that stretch themselves out to give it a welcome. Above all, we judge it by its own inherent strength. Wisdom lies not in quarrelling with such a culture for the sake of any passing political end, but in utilising it as a contributory force to the progress of humanity. The mind of the Muslim has, in the course of history, expressed itself in every cultural field—in the field of Action, of Thought, and of Creation. These are the three great fields in which all human activity is distributed; and, in each field, the Muslim has made a mark for himself. In the field of Action, he has evolved a particular type of social and economic order and polity, influenced by a jurisprudence of his own, worked out into a comprehensive law, called the *Shari'ah*. In the field of Thought, his genius has laid the foundations of modern science and determined its subsequent course. And, in the field of Creation, what has he not done to enrich and beautify life by his spiritual energy expressing itself out in his literatures, his arts, his philosophy and his religion.

So, it is a vast culture, every aspect of which is a great subject in itself. Its structure stands with all its outlines permanently impressed on the life of the Muslims. To question its existence, to ask what it is, and where it is to be found, is, to put it mildly, an intellectual self-deception. Those who question it seem to be obsessed by rather indifferent notions as to what it is that really constitutes culture. One may have one's own prejudices. We all have a few. They are usually hindrances to right understanding. But, when they are of a defiant challenging variety, they vitiate the sense of perspective.

Suspicion is a dangerous instrument of argument. Very often it betrays an absence of a grasp of realities and increases misunderstanding. The desire for preserving one's own peculiarities of thought and living is a natural desire. Is it not possible to respect one's own culture and yet, through the strength of character that that culture gives, contribute to the progress and prosperity of a common body-politic?

The true seat of culture is the mind of man which manifests itself in every field of life's activity. We have to determine what it is in its different cultural manifestations and evolve a workable plan of co-ordination between them based on the universal moral law of tolerance. Such being the pressing need of the hour, let us be clear in our minds as to what we mean by the Muslim culture. The Muslim culture is neither Arabian nor Iranian. It is neither racial nor national. It is Quranic. In the case of the Quranic culture, there is no need for any one to fight shy of religion. The religion of the Quran is not a religion in the popular sense of the term. It does not thrive on mere contemplation. It is not monasticism

or asceticism: nor is it a bundle of symbolic ceremonies conducted by a hereditary priesthood. It is not merely faith or belief.

On the other hand, Islam is the name given to a certain outlook on life, and the *ummat* (or community of Islam) to a certain type of social order, which that outlook brings into being or evolves. There are persons who have a genuine dislike for religions of every description, which postulate a life after death. In their case, the absence of any definite creed is itself a creed for them. For lack of a better term, people designate their attitude as 'Materialism'. One or the other of these several ways everyone follows. Sometimes, the path is prescribed for him through birth; sometimes he himself makes a selection. A student of comparative ways of living may strike the balance between one and another, and adjudicate superiority. But, for a sincere follower, an active pursuit is what primarily matters. Islam is a creed which aims to evolve and maintain a social order laying its supreme emphasis on two fundamental truths of life—one, Movement in Life; the other, Unity in Life—both pointing to a programme of action, which goes by the name of *Shari'ah*. You may as well call this *Shari'ah* an 'Act' of Islam.

Within the framework of this Act, this programme—its boundaries—a Muslim has to live and work. These boundaries are really not narrow, as in our present state of ignorance and decadence they appear. The march of events in the history of Islam has demonstrated, time and again, that, to the extent the two fundamental truths of life, 'of Movement and Unity', have been kept in view, to that extent has the *Shari'ah* of Islam responded and supplied the vital energy to its followers. The two truths are in a sense but one, and argue but one moral, social or spiritual law of life, which has served as a preamble to this Act or this *Shari'ah* of Islam. That Act stands because the moral law, which has inspired it, is a natural law of life.

According to the Quran, life is one continuous progression. It is a linear line, and not a cycle. It is dynamic and every moment it unfolds itself in fresh glory. The idea of evolution is only a thing of yesterday in European thought and science; but among the Muslims, it is a thing as old as the Quran. We may just quote a paragraph or two from *The Making of Humanity* by Briffault, which will give, in general terms, an idea of how important were the contributions made by the Muslims under the impulse of this 'Islamic Thought of Movement':

'For although there is not a single aspect of European growth in which the decisive influence of Islamic culture is not traceable, nowhere is it so clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitutes the permanent distinctive force of the modern world, and the supreme source of its victory—natural science and the scientific spirit,

"The debt of our science to that of the Muslims does not consist in startling discoveries of revolutionary theories; science owes a great deal more to Islamic Culture; it owes its existence. What we call science arose in Europe as a result of a new spirit of inquiry, of new methods of investigation, of the method of experiment, observation, measurement, of the development of Mathematics in a form unknown to the Greeks. That spirit and those methods were introduced into the European world by Muslims".

The Muslim mind has nothing to fear from the achievements of science. In fact, the very things that seem to him to constitute the present scientific culture but truly mark an extension of the Muslim Culture and even a fruition of it. There is no doubt a gap, a very great gap, between the point at which the Muslim left it and the point at which he is now called upon to meet it again after centuries of forgetfulness. In their present state of undeniable depression, promoted by historical forces, into which we need not go at this moment, the Muslims have become an object of light valuation. Their mind has fallen a prey to the influence of un-Islamic cultures and may seem incapable of recognising in the progress of the West but the result of their own initial efforts. Education, however, will set matters right. There is already an awakening all over the Muslim world, and an earnest endeavour to break through the un-Islamic cobweb, that has, for generations, held them back from claiming their own.

Unity in life is the aim of movement in life, and the two go together to serve the background to all that the Muslim has to do in life. Indeed, the law of unity in life is the spiritual and the moral law of Islam—a law which is at the basis of the social structure of the Muslim society to regulate which a code of action has been prescribed going by the name of *Shari'ah*. The spiritual law of life, working behind this *Shari'ah*, is the Law of Unity, without which the 'Law of Movement' in life will lead to chaos and disaster. The Muslim Culture, therefore, which embodies this law, will always be found ready to welcome every achievement of science, but it will be careful to see that that achievement subserves to or advances the cause of 'Unity in Life'. It is the moral tone to life's activity, which Islam enjoins upon its followers that could not be compromised, and where people, in the pursuit of a hunger creed, will require of them to disregard this moral aspect of life, will never succeed¹.

1. Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, *Islamic Cultural Studies*, 1947.

Chapter 13

REFORMATION VERSUS REVOLUTION

THE object of both 'Reformation' and 'Revolution' is to better the existing bad conditions, but there is a vast and basic difference between their methods and approaches. The Reformation is the result of deep consideration and cool calculation. As opposed to this, the Revolution is the result of angry retaliation, spirit of revenge, and destructive desperation. Thus, the former means construction, while the latter culminates in destruction, and hence is inadvisable.

Generally speaking, when matters reach such a hopeless stage when the affected people lose patience, then the destructive revolutionary movement replaces the sane reformatory activities. And, when the architects of the revolution succeed in their objects, then they destroy everything reminiscent of the old order, irrespective of its merits or demerits. Their revolution, like a tornado, destroys and wipes off everything it confronts. Then, after great loss and destruction, when wisdom returns and saner counsels prevail, the necessity of reconstruction presents itself. However, this reconstruction, too, is biased considerably, because it tries to exclude everything that reminds of the old order. In this way, a long period of time is spent on novel methods and new experiments based on revolutionary principles so much so that the entire order of human life is on trial. When the new experiments culminate in fruitless results and costly failures, then only the way to moderation is sought, which is the very first stage of the principles of Reformation.

In our own times, a glaring example of this contention is the Bolshevik Revolution, which was a violent reaction against the unbearable Tsarist imperialism. It destroyed not only the established civilization of

many centuries' standing, but also completely upset the age-long political, ethical, moral, social, cultural and religious principles. The Soviet Revolution disowned everything of the old order so much so that it also exiled God from its territories. However, with the passage of time, the constructive mentality seems to be slowly and gradually giving way to moderation, which is the Law of Nature. A similar extremism had been displayed during the French Revolution with the result that, till now, the French society and its politics, morals and social life have not reached that stage of moderation, which is vital for the consolidation of a stable, harmonious and fruitful human life.

Yet another example is of the Turkish revolution, where the same impulses of revolutionary mentality endeavoured to transform the country by a magic wand from a backward and under-developed community to a highly-advanced and progressive nation. When the destructive revolutionary mentality did not pay expected dividends, the Turks, after lamentable failures, have now started to return to the great maxim of moderation that, 'everything old is not necessarily harmful'.

Today, in the entire Muslim world, a revolutionary desperation is visible. For centuries past, the majority of our religious leaders has managed to make Islam a motionless fossil. It looks as if, after the seventh century of the Hijri Era, the Calendar ceased to work for them. We have now been thrown into the Nuclear and the Space Age, but our religious leaders seem to have closed their eyes, trying to ignore the environments in which they are breathing, and struggle to live in the world that existed six centuries ago. They try to stop the flow of events and desire to drag the present and future back to the past. They hope that the Muslim people will, likewise, refrain from keeping pace with the rapidly progressing times.

The result of this apathy and inactivity is evident. The Muslim peoples cannot remain unaffected by their environments, with the result that they seem to be constrained to throw off the yoke of such a harmful, senseless and unprogressive leadership from over their shoulders. The present harmful revolutionary desperation among the Muslims is the result of the failure of correct guidance by their religious leaders. They are, therefore, wandering about aimlessly in various valleys of uncertain exits. A group of Muslims, being angry with the shortcomings and infirmities of their religious leaders, condemned the religion itself, thinking erroneously that their religion was the stumbling block in the way of their progress and advancement. Another group of Muslims started to vilify and disgrace their religious leaders as if it could compensate for the loss.

One another group commenced to modify and modernise Islam to present its new edition adaptable to the changed circumstances and acceptable to the like-minded people, who are Muslims but in name only.

Thus, various groups of Muslims have taken upon themselves the responsibility to rectify the bad conditions, but their inclination is not towards reform, but towards revolution. This tendency among the Muslims is extremely dangerous and harmful. It will destroy the entire Muslim *Millat* and its established order without constructing anything. That is why, we have to oppose these destructive revolutionaries rather than the inactive conservatives. There are saboteurs among Muslims themselves, who are spreading the plague of rebellion and discontentment against Islam. Some of them openly and shamelessly disown Islam, some others do not openly reject Islam, but their un-Islamic actions and practices place them in the category of the traitors and detractors of Islam. The latter hypocrites are more dangerous and harmful to the Muslim society than the former.

Some nominal Muslims suggest the solution of this crucial problem as under : In their opinion, it is enough to call themselves Muslims, while in the rest of the active life, they believe, the Muslims should follow the non-Muslims in the scheme of things of today. This suggestion is obviously extremely dangerous, harmful and misleading. It will undoubtedly wreck the entire structure of whatever is left of Islam in the life of the Muslims of today. This logic is again the result of the separation of Religion from life's activities.

The most lamentable state of affairs today is that, Islam's present ineffective application to the life of the Muslims is not affecting only a small group of the Western-educated ones, but is also seriously disturbing the programme of life, to a considerable extent, of those Muslims who love and respect Islam genuinely. This general disturbance in the Islamic way of life of the Muslims is a real calamity for them. In serious danger, however, are those millions and millions of Muslim masses, who are sentimentally and devotedly attached to the name of Islam. Because of their ignorance, any self-seeker can easily misguide them through the slogan of Islam. Their economic degradation creates also a serious situation for the progress and dignity of Islam. Owing to the complete lack of an organised Muslim society, which may try to solve the economic and social problems of the Muslims, which mean much to the Muslim masses, the latter generally fall an easy prey to the lures of the economic programmes of Communism and Materialism.

In these circumstances, the preaching of the high slogans and pleasant-sounding principles of Islam alone to the Muslims will not break any ice. Reformation needs practical demonstration of those principles. To create a revolution in the life of Muslims to better their lot, we do not need any new formula. This we can do easily by following the example of the 'Revolution', which the great Prophet of Islam (may peace be on him) had brought about in the life of the Arabs of his day about fourteen centuries ago. We have a successfully-tried and well-set model for such a 'Revolution'. We have to adopt it sincerely and follow it faithfully. For its implementation, whether it is the seventh Christian century or the twentieth, whether it is Arabia or Pakistan, this 'Revolution' can successfully be applied to all times, all climes and all peoples, provided there is enough determination, honesty of purpose and singlemindedness. The great Prophet of Islam had made his Revolution in the following four manners :

- (1) He had trained a group of such Muslims as had learnt the true meaning of religious piety, which they scrupulously practised and which worked as the first lesson in the propagation of Islam.
- (2) He had also trained a group of such Muslims as was readily willing to sacrifice itself as a body for the higher object of the dissemination of Islam and for the establishment and expansion of its power.
- (3) The Prophet of Islam had created a general feeling among his entire *Ummat* that, every individual was a missionary of Islam in his own right, irrespective of his particular profession or activity.
- (4) He had devised ways and means through which non-Muslims were freely given opportunities to study and witness the benefits and blessings of Islam.

In this way, during the short period of only about eight years, that great benefactor of humanity (Prophet Muhammad of Islam—may peace be on him) established the great 'Power-House of Islamic Ideology' at Medina, which illumined not only the Arabian peninsula, but also brightened the entire horizon of our universe so much so that, even after thirteen hundred and eighty-six years, that 'Power-House' is still a great source of enlightenment and inspiration to the Muslim world. Those, who want to revolutionise the Muslim world, will have to emulate the same methods, if they keenly desire to revive the true Islamic way of life.

Chapter 14

THE IMPACT OF ISLAM ON THE WEST

WHILE Christianity was still groping through the Dark Ages, Islam carved out an empire reaching from the frontiers of China to the Pyrenees. Along with its territorial acquisitions, Islam inherited Greek philosophy through the medium of Persian and Syrian scholars, and accepted many cultural forms from these areas and from Arabia's own indigenous culture. All of these Islamic civilization preserved, commented on, and contributed to during its flowering in the 9th., 10th., and 11th. Christian centuries. It was this heritage, which Islam made available to the West at the blossoming of the high Middle Ages, which gave way in time to the Renaissance of the 15th., and 16th. centuries in Europe.

During the 'Golden Age of Islam', excellent schools were established both in the Middle East and in Moorish Spain and Portugal. Libraries were filled with the writings of Hellenic philosophers, scientists and poets; and these centres attracted students from all over Christendom as well as from the Muslim world. Among those who studied at the School of Toledo were Michael Scot, Daniel Morley, Adelard of Bath, and Robertus Anglicus—the first translator of the Qur'an (Trend, J. B. in *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 28).

Hospitals were established for healing and teaching. Wards were organized for patients suffering from particular diseases. Each hospital had its dispensary and library. The chief physicians and surgeons lectured to the students and graduates, examined them, and issued diplomas or licences to practise (Burns, E. M., *Western Civilizations, Their History and Their Culture*, P. 302). Leading names in Islamic medical developments

are Ibn Sina (Avicenna) and al-Razi. Much of this development was accomplished by observation and study which anticipated the scientific method to be formulated many years later in Europe.

The greatest scientific advances of the Muslims were made in the field of Optics. Al-Kindi's treatise on *Optics* (which still survives in Latin) was used by Roger Bacon in his work on this subject. The work of al-Haytham (or Alhazen) was even more advanced (Young, T. C., in *The Moslem World*, v. 35, p. 102). In other realms of science, Jabir ibn Hayyan of Kufa—the Father of Alchemy—was associated with improved methods of evaporation, filtration, sublimation, melting, distillation, and crystallization; and scientific descriptions of calcination and reduction are attributed to him. From the 14th. to the 18th. centuries, his works were the most influential in this science in both Europe and Asia.

Al-Razi excelled Jabir in his exact identification of substances and his clear descriptions of chemical processes and apparatus. His works were known to the West and were quoted by Bacon. Al-Biruni, by using the method of Archimedes' bath, achieved the exact specific weight of 18 precious stones and metals. He is famous as historian, geographer and mathematician. In mathematics, the Arabs taught the use of ciphers, and thus became the founders of the arithmetic of everyday life. They made algebra an exact science and developed it considerably. They laid the foundations of analytical geometry. They were the founders of plane and spherical trigonometry which, properly speaking, did not exist among the Greeks. In astronomy, they made a number of valuable observations, and preserved for us in their translations a number of Greek works, the originals of which have been lost. It was Muslim astronomer-geographers, who kept alive in the Dark Ages the ancient doctrine of the sphericity of the earth. The astrolabe (a Greek invention), improved by Ptolemy, was perfected by the Muslims, who took it to Europe some time in the 10th. century C. E. (Christie, A. H., in *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 115). Important for the history of geology is Ibn Sina's treatise on the formation of mountains, stones, and minerals, in which he discusses the influence of earthquake, wind, water, temperature, sedimentation, desiccation, and other causes of solidification.

Ibn Khaldun of Tunis was probably the world's first pragmatic sociologist. He was the first to formulate laws of national progress and decay; to give climate and geography and such physical factors their due, along with moral and spiritual forces. Ibn Hazm is important for his contribution in the 11th. century to comparative religion. Nicholson has called him "the most original genius of Moslem Spain", and Gibb, "the foun-

der of the science of comparative religion". Guillaume calls him the composer of "the first systematic higher critical study of the Old and New Testaments." Episodes from Eastern stories, particularly those of the *Thousand and One Nights*, are found in the popular writings of Germany, France, Italy and England. Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* are both indebted to this source, as are probably *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* (Gibb, H. A. R., in *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 201). This influence also extends to Goethe, Schiller, and the Continental Romanticists. Dante combined classical Christian mysticism with some of the richest and most spiritual features of the Islamic religious experience in his *Divina Comedia*. He was undoubtedly influenced by such Muslim visionaries as Ibn al-'Arabi of Murcia, and his work contains elements of Muslim cosmogony.

The Arabic *Book of Sinbad*, derived from the Sanskrit by devious means, appears in Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Spanish, Latin and English. The *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, the first book to be printed in English, came through French, Latin and Spanish from an Arabic original. Gibb points out that Arabic literature's most potent influence was as a leaven on the spirit of writing. It liberated the European imagination from a narrow and oppressive traditional discipline, and breached the wall of literary convention. It called into action creative impulses, which were hitherto dormant or impotent (Gibb, H. A. R., in *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 208). The West is indebted to Islam for bringing several musical terms and instruments to Europe; among these are the lute, guitar and rebeck or ribble. The Arabs contributed the use of frets, measured music, and the 'gloss' or adornment of melody, long before the theorists took cognizance of them. This adornment of melody, or discant, is said to have been the genesis of harmony.

In art and craft work, the early Muslims excelled in gold and silver work, repousse and inlay. Their coffered ceilings are without parallel in Europe, and their influence extends into Christian churches. They were also famous for their coloured glazes, ceramics, lusted pottery, vases, drug jars, glass and crystal. Spanish-Moorish silks were in heavy demand, and were particularly treasured in Christian churches, including Canterbury Cathedral. The Muslims transmitted the art of paper-making from China to Europe, and they excelled in bookbinding and leather craft. They were even responsible for introducing the game of chess into Europe. Among the principal elements of the Muslim architecture of Spain and Portugal, which appeared in medieval Gothic buildings, are cusped arches, traceried windows, the pointed arch, the use of script and arabesques as decorative devices, and possibly ribbed vaulting. The design of late medieval castles in Europe is traceable to the fortresses in Syria.

In the field of law, the high ethical standards of certain parts of Arab law have had a positive influence upon the development of Western modern concepts (Dide Santillana in *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 310). In commerce, Islam pioneered in the establishment of trade associations and joint stock companies, and in the use of cheques, letters of credit, receipts, and bills of lading.

One of the greatest contributions of Muslim culture to Western thought was the work of its philosophers. The Arab philosophers rediscovered Greek philosophy, and, above all, the works of Aristotle. Through their translations and studies, they introduced Aristotle and Neo-Platonism to the West centuries before the revival of Greek scholarship in the Renaissance. As late as the beginning of the 14th century, the University of Paris admitted Aristotle only as explained by Ibn Rushd's (Averroes') commentary. Al-Kindi, Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, al-Ghazali and Ibn Rushd all acted not only as preservers and transmitters of classical philosophy, but also as commentators and contributors to it. The works of al-Ghazali and Ibn Rushd were particularly influential for Christian philosopher-theologians. Islamic doctrines stimulated Christians to examine and clarify their own position; and Muslim scholarship aided the Christians in their recovery of the original writings of the 'Church Fathers'.

As Christians first discovered that Islam was more than a "Christian heresy", they reacted with two forms of attack. One was an intensifying of the Christian literary onslaughts against the religion of Islam; the other was actual physical attack against the Muslims. These two courses of action contributed to the growth of deep hatred and enmity between the two religions. Christian polemic, at first, employed all manner of invented fables about the great Prophet and the religion of Islam. But slander and invective did not effect the conversion of Muslims from their faith; and the travesty of history did not convince anybody. It was ultimately found that, to refute the enemy, one must know him and his doctrines. A few centuries later, Martin Luther still had to exert the full weight of his personal influence to persuade the town council of Basel to permit the publication of Theodore Bibliander's Latin translation of the Holy Quran. Luther's studies of both Islam and Christianity had convinced him that the "Islamic menace" was actually a positive instrument of God "in judgment on the corrupt practices of the Christians."

Contemporaneous with these developments was the waging of the Crusades. These 200 years of warfare deepened the chasm and sharpened the hostility between the two faiths. After the failure of the Crusades, the Christendom looked upon the Muslims with continual enmity, sought

every opportunity to crush them, and relentlessly exploited every occasion to do this. Even during the Crusades, many techniques of warfare the Christians learned from their Muslim adversaries: the use of the double-walled fort or castle, the siege tactics of sapping and mining, the employment of artillery, mangonels and battering rams, fires and combustibles, and the use of carrier pigeons, etc.

But the Christians learned something more important than the techniques of war. As they lived in Muslim lands, they saw among the peoples there the religious and social tolerance rare in medieval Europe, and they carried the seeds of equality back with them into Europe. The "infidel" was found to be a man of parts, and many of the fruits of his land and culture could be observed and appreciated. Undoubtedly, the receptivity to new thought and discovery, which came to Europe in Scholasticism, was augmented by the breadth of view, which had come to these invaders of the Muslim lands. The churchmen, who strove to convert the Muslims, now changed their tactics from swords to the subversion of Islam through 'Orientalism'. Ignatius Loyola, Francis of Assisi, Raymon Lull, and many others, devised to destroy Islam by misrepresenting it through 'scholarship'.

Now, the West was developing its own renaissance; and Europe's explorers and commerce found a way around Africa to the East without dealing directly with the Muslim world. As the West reached for its own stature, it neglected its contacts with Islam; and Islam was content to let the West go by. Islam did not care for the new forms of Western life, which developed with the commercial and industrial revolutions in Europe. It closed its doors to the West as long as possible; but the West, spearheaded by Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, began to force open the doors. It threw the products of its industries on the markets of the East, paralyzing and often destroying the old Eastern crafts. It cut the Suez Canal through Muslim territory to connect its own points of interests. Westerners laid railways and air lines across these countries, as if these lands were part of their own natural domain and, at the same time, often gave the impression of believing that their civilization was the highest ever attained (Bethmann, E. W., *Bridge to Islam*, p. 114).

The Muslim world is now flexing its muscles in reaction to this world, which has been forced upon it. Muslim peoples are consolidating their causes around their traditional loyalties. They demand that they may be given the same status and authority as is claimed by the nations who wish to deal with them. And Islam has a strong bargaining position from which to enforce its demands. It holds nearly half the oil reserves of the

world, and is, geographically, the strategic bridge between East and West. The West is forced to deal with Islam for its own security. But the real power of the impact of Islam in contemporary world politics lies in the fact that, Islam is challenging the West to re-establish its own moral and spiritual foundations to meet world problems with responsible moral decision rather than with political and economic expediencies. Western man's attempt to play the master has already caused immeasurable friction. Islam offers many positive contributions toward meeting the problems of world community. The Muslim's deep apprehension of the Transcendence of God and of His Supremacy in His world as Judge and Arbiter of human destiny, together with His awareness of man's creatureliness, is a salutary corrective for contemporary concern for the consolidation of human power to organize the world after our own plans. The conception of the essential unity of life, as found in Islam at its best, is more true and healthful than the Western fragmentation of life and society. Islam can be a constructive point of departure for a dynamic common approach to the problems, which face the world today.

Muslim lands can demonstrate practical achievement in racial tolerance. And Muslims have an exemplary spiritual democracy within their faith. The primary danger to Islam today comes from secular materialism of the West and atheism of Communism, both of which deny the values and spiritual insights held by Islam. Christian learning, arts, medicine, science, religion and commerce all, thus, received contributions from Islam in the high Middle Ages. Actually, the Muslims are people who have something distinctive and positive to offer to the world community, and they are demanding from the West just response to their world citizenship on the basis of equality. Potentially, Islam offers religious convictions regarding the nature of God and man, that are of great potential assistance in the re-organization of world politics, which the Christian world must carry through, if it is to be true to its own ideals. Islam challenges Christianity to plumb the depths of its heritage to bring forth ethical and spiritual resources, which will enable it to live and work with Muslims. This is Christianity's own basis for international order, if it will accept it (Crandall, Kenneth H. *The Impact of Islam on Christianity*, Washington, 1957).

In a world torn between those who believe in God and those who profess materialistic atheism of either Western or Communist type, Islam has much to offer to this world and human society.

Chapter 15

THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON THE MUSLIM WORLD

WE have seen in the immediately preceding chapter the various and multifarious phases of the impact of Islam on the West. In the present chapter, we have to study as to how, through which agencies and in what stages the Muslim world has reached its present lamentable state, and what part the influence of the West has played in the formulation of the present Muslim society. In short, how and in what shape the West has repaid its debt due to the Muslim world.

One of the intellectual-diplomats of the West, Dr. Prof. Erich Kordt of West Germany, in his small booklet entitled *Moderne Welt* (1963), while remarking about Islam in his sophisticated and subtle style, writes:

"A fanatical world-wide political movement which in consequence of the inner logic of its creed or mission cannot reconcile itself to the continued survival of alien, independent states or ideologies, may by the force of outside circumstances be compelled to suspend or at least temporarily postpone what they regard as their proper ideological task. The Hanefite Islamic law school of the 9th. century furnishes an interesting scale of non-belligerent relationships which a world-embracing, politico-religious movement can intermittently entertain with infidels and non-believers."

For the exhibition of this "scale", Dr. Kordt refers to the anti-Islamic work, *Islamische Volkerrechtslehre, Der Staatsvertrag bei den Hanefiten des 5 und 6, Jahrhunderts d. H.*, Gottingen, 1953, by H. Kruse. While criticising Islam, Dr. Kordt proceeds:

"At times a 'holy war' on all non-believers within the reach of the conqueror may have appeared as a kind of moral obligation in order to make the world safe for the acceptance of the universal mission."

And then, in the same booklet comes Dr. Kordt's most amusing comparison of Islam :

"Quite correctly Communism therefore has been compared by Max Weber, Monnerot and Toynbee with Islam in its dynamic period of conquests, or with the 'Mongolian storms' released by Chinghiz Khan and his heirs."

This is the Western method of the assessment of Islam, its culture and achievements. With this beguiling method and misrepresentation of Islam, the Western authors expect that the Muslim world will consider them as the 'friends of Islam'. Another modern detractor of Islam is Dr. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Director of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal (Canada), who is now the head of the 'Centre for the Study of World Religions,' Harvard University (U.S.A.). In his book, *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton, 1957), he has registered many antics during his usual misrepresentation of Islam; for example, he says :

"The Indonesian, the Indo-Muslim, the Pakistani, the Persian, Turkey and the Arab world — these six are the principal cultures that are the protagonists of contemporary Islam. It is they to whom Muslim development in our day is decisively entrusted. Each has its particular selfhood. Each is an integral and significant component of the total pattern of present-day Islam," (p. 295).

About Indonesia, he remarks :

"It would seem that the Indonesians, especially in Java, are the only Muslim group in the world today who have a strong and ancient indigenous liberalism. This is the only Muslim area that has never known the veil for its women."

While pointing out to the 'influence of Greek philosophy and science on Islam', Dr. Smith adds :

"Ibn Sina, no doubt, assimilated Aristotle, as did Aquinas. Yet Ibn Sina was a lonely figure, and was pronounced *Kafir* by Ghazzali (*Al-Munqidh min al-Dalal* : the 3rd. Salibah and 'Ayyad edition, Damascus, 1358/1939, pp. 88-89; English translation in W. Montgomery Watt, *The Faith and Practice of Al-Ghazzali*, London, 1953, p. 32). Ghazzali, the greatest religious thinker of Islam, also wrote a major refutation of Hellenic philosophy. Sociologically, also, it would seem that the *falasifah* in Islamic society transmitted the Greek tradition in but a narrow stream.....Indeed, it is interesting to speculate whether the whole spread of Islam in the Near East and its overthrow of Christianity may not be partially viewed as broadly a reassertion of the Semitic mind rejecting a religion that, being Hellenically interpreted, it could never quite appreciate," (footnote p. 303).

The self-appointed expert on Islam continues :

"Liberalism has modified Islam much less than it has been modified by it. It has assisted.....temporal programmes — such as nationalism," (p. 68).

"Nationalism, apologetics, and dynamism are the three outstanding new tendencies of modern Islam..... Very few Westerners have any inkling of how little esteem their culture has today in the Orient," (p. 69).

"The West today is not only feared but also disliked. The antipathy is to its spirit," (p. 70).

"Muslim discovery of the West was, in large part, a pained discovery of Western antipathy to Islam," (p. 71).

"In the second half of the 20th. century began the new policy of Western economic assistance to 'under-developed' countries..... The psychological and spiritual results of this..... are vastly less favourable for human understanding and rapprochement and mutual friendship than they would have been, had the policy been less explicitly linked to ulterior political purposes, and less sharply divorced from humane sympathy and cultural insight. There has been a sad ineptness, on the whole, in the giving of assistance," (footnote p. 70).

"Even in its more recent, more sympathetic, Orientalism, Western studies are widely misunderstood and rejected. The attempt to be analytic is regarded as merely destructive. Western books on Islam are often read not in order to see how illuminating they may be, but how laudatory. One recent minor instance illustrating the present mood is afforded by the way in which a petulant attack upon *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* elicited an emotional response from a wide circle of Muslims," (footnote, p. 72).

It may be recalled that Dr. Smith learned his Islam during his stay in Pakistan. He and other Western detractors of Islam should better understand that the Muslims do not need to know themselves from them, that they do not also need to learn Islam from Western scholarship, and, finally, they should remain in no doubt whatsoever that the Muslims consider Western Orientalism nothing else than a second Crusade of Christendom against Islam, this time by the pen instead of the sword. It is a most shameless hypocrisy on the part of the Western Orientalists when they write sometimes some lines, or even some books, seemingly fair to Islam, thereby trying to impress and convince the Muslims of their new role as the 'friends of Islam', while, at the same time, they cunningly distort the teachings of Islam, seeking to create scepticism in the minds of Muslims as regards their authenticity. No fool will ever be deceived by the 'eulogies' of Islam by these so-called 'friends of Islam', when they invariably die as non-Muslims. Sincerity demands the adoption himself of the ideology by the person who considers it worthy of praise. We have much better books on the teachings of Islam written by Muslim scholars in Muslim languages. Thus, this new Crusade of Christendom against Islam through pen is also surely to be doomed, as was the earlier one through the sword. True, anti-Islamic Orientalism has succeeded, in some measure, in creating a Western-educated class of Muslims in the Muslim

lands, who are vainly playing the Western game of undermining Islam by trying to invent its 'modern version', the norm of which is Western scholarship. However, it has not succeeded to make any headway among the Muslims generally, and it never will. The true norms of Islam have always been, today are, and in future will be, not the product of Western Orientalism, but the Holy Quran, *Hadith*, and the precepts of the Great Prophet of Islam (may peace be on him), his revered Companions, and the respected Muslim *Imams*.

Islam does not need at all any 'sympathetic Orientalism' — to use the phrase of Dr. Smith — and surely rejects all its production as trash, harmful and misleading. As regards the so-called *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, it, too, is considered unreliable, as it is also, like other works on Islam by Western Orientalists, the brain-child of anti-Islamic Western scholars. The Muslims will do better to ignore (rather condemn) it, like all other so-called 'literature on Islam' by Jewish and Christian Orientalists. The Muslims are quite capable to write against the persons of Moses and Jesus, as well as against Judaism and Christianity, in the same vein as the Jews and Christians have vilified the revered Prophet of Islam and his teachings, but, fortunately or unfortunately, the teachings of Islam themselves forbid the Muslims to indulge in this thankless task revengefully. The Muslim world does not respect at all the stooges of Western Orientalism.

Western Europe was sought to be unified and integrated in mid-1966 in a bid to develop it as a third world power against Soviet Russia, on the one hand, and to offset the American supermacy over Europe, on the other.

Non-Muslim world, particularly India, Israel, Christian missionaries and the Western Orientalists are afraid of the Muslim unity and cohesion. If the Muslim world unites and is integrated, as is being done in Western Europe, it will be a veritable third world power. Western imperialists do not spare an opportunity to nullify any Muslim effort to this end. At the present time (1966), King Faisal of Saudi Arabia is making sincere and diligent endeavours to unite the Muslim (Arab and non-Arab) world. The Muslim heads of State are expected to read the writing on the wall to contribute materially to bring the efforts of King Faisal to fruition, in which lies the salvation and survival of the Muslim world as a nation.

Chinese disagreement with the U.S.S.R. is being capitalized by the West, with its incomprehensible and anomalous policy of co-existence with Soviet Russia, while People's China is an anathema to America, simply because China is an Eastern country. The first two atomic bombs were dropped by America in the last world war on an eastern belligerent

country—Japan—and who knows, the third American atom bomb may be dropped again on another eastern country — Vietnam. The West has a deeply-set bias against the East, particularly the Muslim world, which the West has mercilessly exploited politically and economically, both in Asia and Africa. Islam condemns both the Godless creed of Communism and the detestable atheism of the West.

To repay the debt of Islam, the West has given to the Muslim world irreligiosity, agnosticism, atheism, immorality, sexual perversion and the culture and civilization that are diametrically opposed to the ways of life taught by Islam. All this has been accomplished through the Western system of education, Western obscene literature, and Hollywood films.

PART II

THE MUSLIM WORLD

Chapter 16

PAKISTAN IN THE ISLAMIC SETTING

PAKISTAN, as a new State, is barely 20 years old, but, as Dr. Mortimer wheeler has shown in his *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, its roots lie deep in antiquity. Pakistan has been truly a cradle of ancient civilization. The excavations at Mohenjo Daro (Sind) and at Harappa (West Punjab) are as yet incomplete, but they are enough to show that a high level of civilization flourished in what is now West Pakistan, centuries before the Aryans came to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. After that, Taxila became a great centre of the Buddhist and later of the Indo-Greek civilization.

Islam entered the areas that are now West Pakistan over 1200 years ago, when Sind and Multan were occupied by Muslim Arabs in 711 C.E., and, since then, these regions have remained predominantly Muslim. After the Muslim conquest of northern India, at the end of the 12th. century C.E., the Islamic influence in this sub-continent was centred around Peshawar, Lahore, Agra and Delhi.

The way, in which things had then normally existed in India, has been described by Emperor Babur in a passage, which has become famous :

"Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it.

The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness of fellow-feelings, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good meat, no grapes or musk-melons, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick."¹

Muslim rulers unified India and centralized administration as had never been the case before. Not only was the extent of Emperor Aurangzeb 'Alamgir's empire greater than that of Asoka, but also there was closer co-ordination between various parts of the country than had ever existed under any Hindu or Buddhist ruler. The two centuries of the Mughal rule, from the accession of Akbar to the death of Muhammad Shah (1556-1749), gave to the whole of northern India and much of the Deccan also uniformity of the official language, administrative system, coinage and also a popular *lingua franca* for all classes.

Islam entered the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent with the arrival of the Arab general, Muhammad bin Qasim, in Sind, in 711 C.E., and, for nearly five centuries, Sind and West Punjab (West Pakistan) remained subject to the Arab influence. But the real advent of Islam, in this sub-continent, was through the northern and western passes, from Afghanistan and Iran. It began with the successful incursions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, but the large influx of Muslim missionaries, saints and religious thinkers began after the occupation of Delhi by Sultan Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghauri. Islam spread in the entire Indo-Pakistan sub-continent through the peaceful efforts and spiritual influence of the *Sufis*. By the end of the 15th. century, the *Sufis* had taken the message of Islam to all parts of the sub-continent and a large section of the Indian population embraced Islam willingly.

Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) was perhaps the greatest Muslim theologian produced by this sub-continent. His writings breathe a spirit of goodwill and are completely free from bitterness not only against the minority groups within Islam, but also against the non-Muslims. He did

1. J. Seyden and W. Erskine, *Memoirs of Babur* vol. II., p. 241.

more than anyone else to spread the knowledge of true Islam amongst the Muslims and make it a great spiritual and moral force. A by-product of Shah Waliullah's efforts and the era of the spiritual revival started by him was the movement often loosely termed 'the Wahhabi Movement', which was started by the members of his family and actually led by Syed Ahmad Brelvi—a disciple of his son, Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz'.

At this time, Bengal also saw a great intensification of religious life and vigorous attempts to rid the Muslim society of non-Islamic elements. These efforts were due partly to influences from Arabia. Haji Shari'atullah was influenced by the doctrines preached by Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdul Wahhab in Arabia. The followers of Haji Shari'atullah were known as *Faraidis*, and his mission was carried on by his dynamic son, Dhudhu Miyan, in East Bengal admirably. Another movement for Islamic revival in Bengal was headed by Maulavi Karamat 'Ali of Jaunpur. He was a disciple of Syed Ahmad Brelvi. He spread the message of Islamic regeneration and reform from the Nagas of Assam to the inhabitants of Sandip and other islands in the Bay of Bengal. Through his well-planned and well-organized efforts, extending over half a century, Maulavi Karamat 'Ali was able to revitalize the Islamic life in East Bengal (now East Pakistan).

By the middle of the 19th. century, a foreign Christian power became firmly entrenched in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, and, with the opening of a large number of Christian missionary schools and the spread of Western education, new problems arose.

It was a decade after the fall of Delhi to the British that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) dragged his co-religionists out of their sullenness to prepare them for new values that could challenge their old notions. As his 'Aligarh Movement' gathered momentum, it succeeded in attracting to its fold a number of scholars of eminence. Maulana Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1914) took a leading part in preparing the ground through his Urdu prose and poetry for the great reforms initiated by Syed Ahmad Khan.

A contemporary, though not directly connected with the 'Aligarh Movement', was Syed Ameer 'Ali of Bengal (1849-1928), an eminent jurist and a prolific writer on Islamic subjects. Ameer 'Ali's fame rests on his classical work, *The Spirit of Islam* (1891). In this book, Ameer 'Ali portrays Islam as a dynamic religion commensurate with modern ideas.

While Syed Ahmad Khan was seeking to extricate his co-religionists from the slough of despondency through Western education and co-operation with the British, another school of thought believed that the salvation of the Muslim community lay in precisely the opposite direction. This school had its centre at Deoband. Even among Syed Ahmad's co-workers were persons who refused to endorse his ready acceptance of Western remedies for Muslim ills. One such person was 'Allamah Shibli Nu'mani (1857-1914). On Syed Ahmad's death, Shibli left Aligarh and joined the more conservative group, which had established the *Nadwatul 'Ulema* at Lucknow in 1894. The avowed object of the *Nadwah* was to aim at a synthesis of the old and the new viewpoints. But, soon, it became, in opposition to the Aligarh College, a centre of the Islamic revivalist activities.

The most gifted disciple of Shibli, undoubtedly, was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Through the columns of *Al-Hilal*, Azad incited the Muslims to renounce the Western mode of thought. He vehemently preached the message of 'Back to the Quran,' and succeeded to a considerable extent in dimming the glory of the ideals and objectives of Syed Ahmad Khan. Thus, by the end of the second decade of the 20th. century, two distinct trends were visible in the intellectual life of the Muslims of the sub-continent. One was the modernist movement started by Syed Ahmad Khan to enable the Muslims to adjust themselves to the new political, intellectual and spiritual atmosphere, and partake of general human progress, which had its latest manifestations in the West. The other was led by Shibli, Abul Kalam Azad, Akbar of Allahabad, and the 'Ulema of Deoband, which aimed at conserving old values and institutions, and resisting the inroads of Western thought. Soon, there arose a man of genius, who, having been influenced by both these forces, was able to reconcile and synthesize them.

Dr. 'Allamah Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938) was destined to play the historical role in the reconstruction of Islamic thought. He brought to bear upon Islamic institutions a searching analysis of their fundamentals. He reinterpreted Islam as a dynamic rather than a static religion, and a liberal rather than a reactionary force. The vision of a 'New World' for the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was projected by Iqbal, when he claimed that, the future of Indian Muslims, with their distinct cultural and spiritual urges, lay in a separate homeland. Iqbal was the first to see the vision of Pakistan. The role he played in promoting that intellectual revolution among the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-conti-

ment, which heralded the emergence of Muslims as a separate political force, conscious of their national destiny, decidedly constituted his most valuable contribution to the Muslim cause.

Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) personified the liberal spirit of Islam released by Syed Ahmad Khan and Ameer 'Ali, as well as the dynamic philosophy of Iqbal, with its emphasis on relentless action. His able leadership of their struggle for freedom, culminating in the creation of Pakistan as an independent State, brought unprecedented hope and vitality to the Muslims of the sub-continent. The liberalism of Jinnah freed the minds of the Muslims of the sub-continent, turning their intellectual activities towards tackling traditional Islamic ideas and ideals in terms of modern standards and requirements.¹

Before the creation of Pakistan, in August, 1947, British India had a population of about 400 million. Of these, approximately 100 million were Muslims. That only a quarter of the entire population should profess Islam, after nearly 800 years of Muslim rule, shows, significantly enough, that, during the Muslim period, the choice of religion was free.

The story of the emergence of Pakistan is the story of the life and endeavours of Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah. With characteristic courage, Jinnah, who had, in his earlier days, defied the Muslim community by joining the Hindu Congress, risked political exile from the Congress at a time when he was one of its front rank leaders, by publicly opposing Gandhi's desperate proposals. Jinnah's intellectual honesty made it impossible for him to follow Gandhi, whose belief in 'soul-force' and in his 'inner-voice,' and whose devotion to the cow, were anathema to him. Even Maulana Muhammad 'Ali Jauhar, an ex-president of the Congress, and a most devoted follower of Gandhi in the days of the 'Khilafat Movement', declared in 1930 :

"We refused to join Mr. Gandhi, because his movement is not a movement for the complete independence of India, but for making the 70 million of Indian Muslims dependents of the Hindu Mahasabha."

In March, 1940, at the annual session of the Muslim League, held in Lahore, the historic 'Pakistan Resolution' was passed, which demanded

¹ *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1955, 'Introduction', i-vii, pp. 1-17, 167-204.

the partition of India. In concrete form, this Resolution meant that, the Muslim-majority provinces of the Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier provinces, Baluchistan and Bengal should be separated from the rest of India and grouped together as an independent State to be known as Pakistan. Towards the end of March, 1947, the new British Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, arrived in Delhi. He was charged with the mission to settle, once and for all and as expeditiously as possible, the vexed question of Indian independence and to resolve the Hindu Congress-Muslim League deadlock.

On June 2, 1947, the 'Mountbatten Plan' was announced. It accepted the 7-year old Muslim claim for an independent State in areas where they were in majority, subject to the vote of the people or their elected representatives. The Muslim majority areas, viz., the whole of East Bengal, the Sylhet district of Assam in eastern India, and West Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier province in north-western India, declared themselves in favour of Pakistan. The non-Muslim majority districts of East Punjab and West Bengal joined the Indian Union.

On July 18, 1947, the 'Indian Independence Act' was passed by the British parliament. Then, Premier Atlee announced in the House of Commons that, the successor authorities to the British in India had respectively nominated Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah and Lord Mountbatten to be Governors-General of Pakistan and India. In the meantime, although the Hindu Congress had agreed to the partition of India, the Hindus and Sikhs embarked on a systematic decimation of the Muslim population in India by mass-killings, forcible ejections and conversions to Hinduism and Sikhism, with the connivance (even participation) of the forces of law and order. Delhi, which was the seat of the Muslim rule for many centuries, was converted into a vast Muslim refugee camp. In the riots, that immediately preceded and followed the partition of India, hundreds of thousands of Muslims were done to death, and thousands of Muslim women were abducted. Muslim refugees began to pour into Pakistan in thousands every day. A vigorous campaign was launched in India and abroad to show that Pakistan was economically impossible and would go to pieces in a few months, if not weeks. In short, every effort was made by India to sabotage the establishment of Pakistan.

On August 14, 1947, however, the government of Pakistan was inaugurated amidst great rejoicings Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad 'Ali

Jinnah became the first Head of State of sovereign Pakistan.¹

The area of West Pakistan is 310,403 square miles, that of East Pakistan 55,126 square miles; the total area of entire Pakistan being 365,529 square miles. The (1966) estimated population of West Pakistan was about 52 million, and that of East Pakistan about 63 million; the total for all Pakistan being about 115 million. East Pakistan is one of the most densely populated areas in the world. The Muslims in Pakistan are over 88.5 percent; non-Muslim minorities being the Hindus, the Buddhists, the Scheduled Caste, Christians, Parsis and Jews—most of them are in East Pakistan. With the present rapid pace of the population growth, it is estimated that the population of Pakistan will be about 127 million by 1971. A new capital of the country is being built at Islamabad near Rawalpindi in place of Karachi. Dacca is the provincial capital of East Pakistan, while Lahore is the provincial capital of West Pakistan.

Shaheed-e-Millat Khan Liaquat 'Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan (who was assassinated on October 16, 1951, while Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah had died earlier on September 11, 1948), on whose shoulders had fallen the mantle of the Quaid-e-Azam—the Founder of Pakistan—had repeatedly stated that, Pakistan was to function as "the laboratory of practical Islam." The popular urge for converting Pakistan into a full-fledged Islamic State is only too visible; but even those Pakistanis, who are most enthusiastic about drawing, in every possible way, on the inspiration and wisdom of Islam, are equally emphatic about building up a strong and progressive modern State. There exists considerable controversy regarding the ultimate shape of the constitution. 'The laboratory of practical Islam' has started functioning, research is in progress, but what the finished product will be is yet a matter of conjecture. It is primarily for the legislature, as the representative of the people of an Islamic state, to apply the principles of Islam to the life of the community in the shape of legislation. The constitution should provide for a body of learned theologians and jurists to veto any legislation that they consider to be against the *Shari'ah*.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah was succeeded, as the governor-general of Pakistan, by Khwajah Nazimuddin, and the latter by Ghulam Muhammad, who, and his successor, Iskander Mirza, both, were the most unpopular Heads of State. Under the present President of the

1. *Genesis of Pakistan*, P.I.I.A., Karachi. 1949.

Republic of Pakistan, Muhammad Ayub Khan, the country has regained its internal political stability and tremendous prestige abroad. For the first time, Pakistan's foreign policy has received popularity inside the country and international respectability, while the economic viability of the country is reassured. The 'Regional Co-operation for Development' (R.C.D.), among Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, has been a great stroke of sound and realistic politics, cementing the fraternal bonds between these three important Muslim countries in Western Asia as a vital link in the chain of the resurgent Muslim peoples in the Middle East, Arab lands and Africa. With Indonesia added to the list of excellent friends and the normalization of relations with neighbouring Socialist countries, Pakistan's stature has risen in the comity of nations, but particularly in the Muslim fraternity of the world. Dr. Fuad Rouhani, an Iranian, is the Secretary-General of the 'R.C.D.' at its headquarters at Tehran (Iran). Pakistan continues to be a member of both the Western alliances of the CENTO and the SEATO.

India, being the sworn enemy No. 1 of Pakistan, is feverishly busy in her sinister plans to produce nuclear weapons to destroy Pakistan, forcing, thereby, the hands of Pakistan to remain ever vigilant and prepared with the experiments in space rocketry and nuclear power projects. The first Islamabad reactor went into operation in December, 1965. Earlier, in April, 1965, the Indo-Pakistan war flared up in the disputed region of the Rann of Kutch, in which the Indian army was worsted. An arbitration tribunal to settle the rival claims by Pakistan and India to the Rann of Kutch has been appointed by the United Nations with Judge Gunnar Lagergren of Sweden as its chairman.

As a result of the genocide by India of Kashmiri Muslims, the latter rose in revolt against the former. India, simultaneously, invaded West Pakistan without ultimatum on September 6, 1965, but was badly mauled by the Pakistan armed forces; the cease-fire was arranged by the Security Council of the United Nations on September 23, after a 17-day bloody trial of strength and great loss in men and material.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir occupied some 84,000 square miles. This area consists of three parts: 1) Jammu province in the south; 2) farther north, Kashmir province, including the celebrated 'Vale of Kashmir', an ancient lake basin about 85 miles long and 25 miles wide, rimmed with mountains; and 3) the 'Northern Territories', or the frontier

districts, the largest part of the State, including Gilgit, Hunza, Baltistan and, to the east, Laddakh, bordering on Tibet. The cease-fire line, cleaving the State, runs northward over the mountains, until it turns east and wanders into the glacial wilderness. On the Pakistan side, known as 'Azad (Free) Kashmir', are the 'Northern Territories', including a part of Laddakh, and a narrow strip of land adjoining the line in the south and west; in area, Pakistan controls roughly about one third of the State. On the Indian side of the line are Jammu, the 'Vale of Kashmir', and most of Laddakh.

The population of Jammu and Kashmir State is estimated now at five million. More than 80 per cent of the Kashmiris are Muslim, heavily concentrated in the Valley and in western Kashmir. Hindus are now in majority in Jammu, including a number of Sikhs. Laddakh is populated mostly by the Buddhists. Srinagar, on the Indian side, was the capital of the State; while Muzaffarabad is the capital of 'Azad Kashmir'. The Kashmiri has always been outrageously ruled. During the rule of Raja Hari Singh, any person embracing Islam forfeited all ancestral property. After the first Indo-Pakistan war of 1948, a U.N. truce finally came into effect, and a cease-fire line was established on June 27, 1949, patrolled by the military observers of the United Nations.

From the beginning, Kashmir's accession to India was regarded as provisional, to be followed by a plebiscite, that was pledged by Premier Nehru of India himself as early as October 31, 1947, in his telegram to Prime Minister Liaquat 'Ali Khan of Pakistan. No plebiscite, however, has yet been conducted, although both India and Pakistan had agreed in principle to U.N. resolutions for a vote by the people of Kashmir. In general, Pakistan's position has been to accept the various U.N. proposals for a plebiscite, and India's position has been to reject them. Meanwhile, India has tried to usurp it, unilaterally, in the face of vehement protests by Pakistan against the violation of the U.N. resolutions by trying to make Kashmir an 'integral part' of India, illegally.

For Pakistan, the basic fact is that Kashmir is overwhelmingly Muslim, and so, should have gone to Pakistan, because the partition of India was made on the basis of religion. Thus, the accession of Kashmir to India was a fraud; the Kashmiris must decide their own future, as Nehru and other Indian leaders pledged many times to Pakistan, before the Indian parliament, and to the United Nations. The September, 1965,

war made the U. N. and the world realize that Kashmir is a fateful issue. It estranged Pakistan from the U. S. A., as the latter's arms filled the Indian arsenals for the destruction of the former. It reinforced the link between Pakistan and China, owing to the latter's support of the former against the wanton Indian aggression. It braked the tortoise-paced development of India's 475 million people. Sheikh Muhammad 'Abdullah, the real and popular leader of Kashmir is rotting now in an Indian Jail.

In early January, 1966, through the good offices of Premier Kosygin of the U. S. S. R, and his government, a summit meeting was arranged at Tashkent between President Muhammad Ayyub Khan of Pakistan and Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri of India, which culminated in the famous 'Tashkent Declaration'. Incidentally, Premier Shastri died at Tashkent immediately thereafter of heart attack, and was replaced by Indira Gandhi—the daughter of Nehru—as the new Premier of India. According to the provisions of the 'Tashkent Declaration', both the Indian and Pakistani armies pulled back to their original respective positions inside their own countries by February 25, 1966, though the Indian army dragged its feet in some positions of the Sialkot sector, which they vacated under U. N. pressure in March. However, before the Indian army withdrew, it destroyed everything under its occupation and left the occupied Pakistani territory in complete shambles.

The latest position (September, 1966) is, that India is showing no signs of her change of heart for a peaceful and genuine agreement with Pakistan, and is violating the 'Tashkent Declaration' both in words and deeds. India's hatred for and enmity against Pakistan knows no bounds. The U. S. policy in Pakistan has been a total failure. as the latter feels betrayed by her great Western ally *vis a vis* pro-Communist, pro-Russian, neutralist and the so-called non-aligned India.

Chapter 17

OTHER NON-ARAB MUSLIM COUNTRIES IN ASIA

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(A)
TURKEY

THE priceless monuments and relics of bygone civilizations, found in Anatolia, date back as far as 6,000 years ago. The Hittite civilization (2,000—I, 200 B.C.), followed by the Phrygian civilization (1,200—600 B.C.), and the Lydian civilization (800—500 B.C.), which was an eclectic compound of Asiatic and Aegean cultures. This period was followed by the Ionian civilization (700 B.C.), which was superseded by the Byzantine civilization a thousand years later. Finally, in the 7th. century C.E., came here the Islamic civilization; the advent of the Turkish civilization was in the early 13th. century C.E.

The Turkish people originally belonged to the broad plains of southern Siberia and the steppes between the Caspian Sea and the Altai mountains in central Asia. At their entry into history, they bore ethnic traits designated by anthropologists as 'Turanian'. The nomad Turkish states in central Asia consisted of loosely organized tribal confederations, led by individual *Khans* (who sprang from the nobility of the *Begs*) bound together under a supreme military war-lord—the *Kaghan*. The name of their religious faith was 'Shamanism'.

In the 10th. century C.E., the Turks gradually penetrated into the Samanid administration in Iran, as they had done previously during the Abbasid regime in Iraq. Among the *Ilek Khans* in Turkistan and the Sultans of Ghazna in Afghanistan, around 970 C.E., a new Ghuzz (or Oghuzz) chieftain, Seljuq, had advanced from the Kirghiz steppe to Bukhara. After their conversion to Islam, they were known also as 'Turkomans.' The Seljuqs established their residence at Isfahan. Seljuq Alp Arslan has been one of the greatest Turkish rulers of the later 11th,

century C.E., reigning over all the lands from Kabul in the east to Damascus in the west.

Alp Arsalan's son, Malik Shah, was a very enlightened monarch, whose versatile vice-regent and vizier, Atabeg Nizamul-Mulk, patronized the Islamic sciences and learning. The great theological thinker of Islam, Ghazzali, flourished under his patronage and died at Tus on December 19, IIII C.E. The famous mathematician, 'Umar al-Khayyam (d. 1132 C.E.), the inventor of the 'Jalalian Era' (after the name of his patron, Malik Shah Jalaluddin), which, in precision, was superior to the Gregorian calendar, was Ghazzali's later compatriot. Khayyam's fame, however, rests in Europe primarily on his witty Persian quatrains, which have enjoyed great popularity in the Western world through the poetic paraphrases in English by Fitzgerald, and were made known in Germany by the diplomat, Fr. Rosen.

Among the Tartar tribes of Mongolia, the Karakhitai had migrated westward and settled in Sinkiang and Transoxiana. The Nestorian Christian missionaries had already penetrated into Mongolia and had converted the strong Kerayit and Naiman tribes. The rest of the Tartar tribes believed in Shamanism. In one of these tribes, the Taijiut, the chieftain Yisukai of the Burchig clan had a first son, Temuchin (nicknamed Chengiz Khan), born to him in 1155 C.E. By 1206 C.E., Temuchin was the master of the whole of Mongolia. In 1218 C.E., the Khwarizm Shah Muhammad got the two embassies from Chengiz Khan massacred, causing the wrath of the Khan and the barbarous onslaught of the Tartars on his dominions. Bukhara, Balkh, Samarqand and Nishapur were reduced to ashes amid horrible atrocities, and the Khwarizm Shah died a refugee. His valiant son, Jalaluddin, however, continued the struggle against the Mongols, who had, meanwhile, devastated Transoxiana, Khwarizm, Caucasia, southern Russia, Iran, Khurasan and Afghanistan completely. Chengiz Khan died in Kansu (China) in August, 1227 C.E.

From 1236 to 1243 C.E., Chengiz Khan's grandson, Batu, conquered Eastern Europe. His another grandson, Halaku, on his westward course, crossed the Amu Darya in January, 1256, and received the allegiance of the princes of Iran and the Caucasus. But, the Isma'ili ruler, Rukunuddin, was not accepted among Halaku's vassals. His stronghold, the fortress of Maimun-Diz, in the Alamaut district, in Iran, was razed to the ground; he was murdered; and his followers were hunted and slain throughout Iran. The famous mathematician and astronomer, Nasiruddin Tusi, who lived with Rukunuddin, was, however, received kindly by Halaku, who appointed him as his court astronomer, and was later

charged with the establishment of the famous observatory at Maragha in Azerbaijan.

It was mainly through the inducement of this Shi'ite Nasiruddin Tusi that Halaku engaged himself to devastate the prosperous Abbasid realm in Iraq. Splendid Baghdad was destroyed by the barbarous Mongols on February 10, 1258 C.E., and the Caliph was executed. One of his kinsmen, however, escaped to Egypt, where the Mamluk Baibars made him the nominal caliph under the title of Al-Mustansir Billah. His descendants continued to lead this shadowy existence down to the Ottoman conquest (1516/17). The petty Syrian princes had announced their submission to the Mongols; but the Turkish Mamluks in Egypt, under Sultan Baibars, defied them successfully. Baibars attacked Palestine, and, on the memorable day of September 3, 1260 C.E., the valiant Turkish Sultan of Egypt inflicted a decisive defeat on Halaku's army at 'Ain Jalut, near Nablus.

Halaku had remained a pagan, though he had a Christian wife (supplied to him by Nestorian missionaries), too, named Dokuz Khatun. His great grandson, Ghazan, was brought up in Buddhism; but, shortly before his accession to the throne, went over to Islam together with his entire army and to the Sunnite denomination at that, which, however, his brother and successor, Uljaitu Khudabandah (1309 C.E.), exchanged for the Shi'ite. Under the latter, the power of the Ilkhans (successors of Halaku) was at its peak.

From 1256 to 1291 C.E., under the Seljuq Atabeg Sultan Sa'd ibn Zengi, the famous poet Sa'di, in his native city of Shiraz, wrote his two chief works of a moralizing nature—the *Gulistan* (in Persian prose) and the *Bostan* (in Persian verse). The German translation of the *Gulistan* was done in 1654 by the Silesian Olearius (i.e., Olschlager). Under Shah Shuja' of Shiraz (ascended 1364 C.E.), there flourished the most famous of all Persian lyric poets, Shamsuddin Muhammad, better known as *Hafiz* (d. 1389). But, the greatest mystic poet of Islam, Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, was born in Balkh in 1207 C.E. In 1230 C.E., Rumi received a professorship at Konia (Iconium, also Rum), where he encountered the celebrated mystic, Shamsuddin Tabrizi, who won him over entirely to a life of deep mysticism, and, in whose name, Rumi published his *Diwan*, though Maulana Rumi's fame rests mostly on his *Mathnavi*. He also founded the Order of the *Maulavis* (or 'Dancing Dervishes') in Turkey, who sought their way into mystic ecstasy to the music of the flute.

In the wake of the Mongols, numerous religious leaders had streamed into Anatolia from Central Asia. The western Asia Minor was overrun

by the Turks, who set up independent domains in different provinces. Among the Turks, however, who took up the struggle against Byzantium with particular success, were the Ottomans (Osmanlis), who belonged originally to the Kayi clan of the Turkish tribal federation of the Oghuzes. In 1326 C.E., 'Uthman (son of Ertughrul) died at Sogud, but was buried at Brusa at the foot of the Olympus (*Kashish-Dagh*), which was conquered by his son, Orkhan. Brusa, thus, became the holy city of the Osmanlis, as well as the new capital of their realm. Orkhan created a 'New Force' (*Yeni-Cheri*, whence 'Janissary') of Christian infantrymen converted to Islam, in 1330 C.E. The 'Janissaries' joined the mystic order of the *Bektashis*. Orkhan's second son succeeded him in 1362 C. E., as Murad I.

Angora (now Ankara) was captured in 1354 and Gallipoli (in Thrace, European mainland) in 1357 C.E. by Prince Sulaiman, who was then killed in battle there. Now, Murad defeated the Christian Balkan rulers one by one. In 1362 C.E., the Byzantines lost Adrianople, which remained the capital of the Osmanli Amirs until Constantinople (now Istanbul) was conquered. In 1371 C.E., the Serbs were defeated and Macedonia was occupied. In 1385 C.E., Sofia, Salonica and northern Greece were conquered. In 1388, Silistria was captured. In June, 1389, Murad himself, with his sons, Bayazid and Ya'qub, defeated the combined armies of the Serbs, Bosnians, Magyars, Bulgars and Albanians on the field of 'Blackbirds' (*Kosovo Polye*), in which Murad and the Serb King Lazar were killed. Bayazid succeeded Murad.

In 1393, the Bulgars were finally subjugated. Now, Pope Boniface IX preached a crusade against the Muslims, and a strong Western European army of Christian Knights gathered around king Sigismund of Hungary in Buda. However, on September 27, 1396, they were utterly routed by Bayazid at Nicopolis. The pursuing Osmanlis penetrated as far as Styria, and the territories of the crusaders were devastated by the Turks.

Around 1369 C.E., Timur (born 1336 C.E., at Kish in Transoxiana), a descendant of Chengiz Khan, had fixed Samarqand as his capital. Mystically, he belonged to the *dervish* order of *Naqshbandiyyah*. He spread warfare annually throughout the lands from Moscow down to the Ganges, and westward as far as Syria. Timur attacked Anatolia also. On the plain of Angora, at Chibukabad, on July 20, 1402, Bayazid and Timur faced each other, in which the former was worsted and was taken prisoner. Bayazid died in March, 1403, at Akshehir (Hamid) in an iron cage, and was buried at Brusa. Timur died in Otrar on a campaign against China on January 19, 1405.

In the East, the Timurid empire was hard pressed by the Turkoman tribe of the Uzbegs under their leader, Shaibani, who, in 1500, removed Babar, a grandson of Abu Sa'id, from his throne in Samarqand, and forced him to emigrate to India, where he founded the Empire of the Great Mughals. In the West, the position of the Timurids became untenable after Shah Isma'il reconstructed a unified Iran out of the Shi'ite monk-state of Ardabil.

Murad II won brilliant victories twice against the combined might of the Venetian, Polish, German, French, Serbian, Bulgarian and Magyar crusaders, first at Varna in 1444, and then at Kossovo in 1448. He died in 1451, and was succeeded by his son, Muhammad II, who conquered Constantinople on May 29, 1453, and killed the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX. The Ottoman Empire lasted from 1290 to 1923 : 633 years. The 37th. and the last Ottoman Sultan and Caliph was 'Abdul Majeed II. The Turkish Republic was proclaimed at Ankara by Mustafa Kema Pasha (Kemal Ataturk) on October 29, 1923.

In June, 1908, after the meeting at Reval between King Edward VII and Tsar Nicholas II sealed the *entente* Britain and Russia had concluded by the treaty of August, 1907, new plans were expected in Turkey for the partition of the Ottoman Empire. The liberal movement of the 'Young Turks', suppressed for so long by the Sultan, had, nevertheless, established a foothold in the Turkish army. In Macedonia, Enver Pasha and Col. Niyazi assumed the leadership of a revolt. The 'rebels', who called themselves 'the Committee of Union and Progress' (*Ittihad va Taraqqi*), obtained financial assistance from the *donme* (the Jewish converts to Islam in Salonica). Enver left Salonica and carried on agitation for the 'Committee'. The 'rebels' proclaimed the restoration of the 1876 constitution of Midhat Pasha in Monastir in July, 1908. That same month, in a surprise march on Istanbul, which was occupied almost without a struggle, they forced Sultan 'Abdul Hameed II (34th., 1876-1909) to recognize the constitution.

In April, 1909, the leader of the army corps of Salonica, Husain Hasni Pasha, accompanied by Mustafa Kemal, as chief of staff, advanced on the capital, which, after a brief struggle, was conquered by Mahmud Shaukat Pasha. On April 26, the national assembly met in San Stefano and, supported by a *fatwa* (religious verdict) of the *Sheikh al-Islam*, resolved to depose the Sultan. In his place, his brother, Muhammad V (35th., 1909-18), was raised to the throne.

Italy availed herself of the chaotic conditions in Turkey, declared war on the latter without any justification in September, 1911, and, in

October, landed troops in Tripolitania (Libya). Its defence was assumed by Enver Pasha and Mustafa Kemal. But, they were eventually overwhelmed. In the peace treaty of Ouchy, Tripoli and Benghazi had to be ceded to Italy in 1912. The Christian Balkan States now declared war on the Ottoman Empire in October, 1912. The Bulgars seized Adrianople, and the Greeks Salonica. In May, 1913, at the peace conference in London, the Turks finally had to acquiesce in the cession of all the areas west of the line of Enos on the Aegean Sea and Midia on the Black Sea. But, since the European wolves could not agree among themselves on the division of spoils, they again lapsed into a state of war. Enver Pasha reconquered Adrianople.

The ideal of an Osmanli community now was replaced by the idea of nationalism among the Turks. Borne by the ideas of the French Revolution and by the German Romanticism, nationalism struck root among them. Thus, a new Turanian (pan-Turkish) ideal was evolved, which encompassed all Turks. Turkey entered World War I on the side of the Central Powers, with whom she hoped to be able to break the hegemony of Britain and France in the Near East. The magnificent deeds at arms of the Turkish army and of its fleet frustrated the British attack on the Dardanelles. As the defender of Anafarta, Mustafa Kemal gave the demonstration of his brilliant military gifts. The control of the Iranian and Iraqi oilfields, according to a statement by Lord Curzon, led the Allies to victory. It is a lamentable irony that the Muslim oil caused the destruction of the Muslims themselves through the enemies of Islam, as the British and French occupied Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Palestine.

The Turkish resistance collapsed against the overwhelming odds, and it was sealed by the truce of Mudros on October 30, 1918. The leaders of the 'Young Turks' left the country. Enver went to Russia, and on August 4 1922, was killed in Turkistan in the struggle of the Basmachis against the Bolsheviks. The great Ottoman Empire perished; from its ruins, however, there arose the modern Turkish national State. The new ideal of Turkish nationalism was championed in literature and history. The leadership of this movement fell to Ziya Gok Alp. By his symbolic poems—*Kizil Elma*—and by his lectures, he influenced the youth with the national ideal, to which the novelist, Halide Edib, gave the finest literary expression in her novel, *Turan*.

The truce of Mudros put the Ottoman Empire out of the war. In May, 1919, Smyrna was occupied by the Greeks in accord with the Allies. During this time, Sultan Muhammad VI (36th., 1918-22) was the Caliph. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, with his *Yildirim* army group, now entered

Anatolia, and at once assumed command of the national movement. The European Entente occupied Istanbul in March, 1920, and sent the nationalist leaders to Malta. Mustafa Kemal Pasha convoked the National Assembly at Ankara, which opened in April, and elected him president. Fared Pasha was forced to sign the Treaty of Sevres on August 10, which partitioned Turkey among 'International Commission'—Greece, France and Italy. Then Britain encouraged the Greeks to press forward from Smyrna, but they were defeated by the Turks. Turkey concluded a treaty with Soviet Russia on March 10, 1921.

In August, 1921, hostilities were resumed by the Turks against the Greeks and their British protectors. On October 11, the truce of Mudania was concluded, in which, the Greeks, being defeated, waived claim to Thracia as far as Maritza. On November 20, 1922, the Peace Conference of Lausanne was opened, which finally produced the Peace Treaty on July 24, 1923. The Turks again came into possession of all Asia Minor and Istanbul with eastern Thracia.

The National Assembly declared Turkey a Republic (*Jamhuriyat*) on October 29, 1923, and elected Mustafa Kemal Pasha its president. For the time being, it was desired to retain the Caliphate, which was transferred to the Sultan's son, 'Abdul Majeed II (37th., and the last Caliph, 1922-24). Mustafa Kemal was resolved to conduct the State, founded by him, "along the pathway of European civilization, in which any backward glance to the Islamic past could only be a hindrance." Therefore, a resolution of the National Assembly of March 3, 1924, dissolved the Caliphate and banished its incumbent from the country. Thereupon, a new version of the Turkish Constitution was proclaimed on April 20. *Ghazi* Mustafa Kemal rejected the demand of the Muslim world that he himself assume the Caliphate.

The religious law (*Shari'ah*) was replaced by a civil code worked out along Swiss lines. This resulted in the end of polygamy. As a substitute for the spiritual values, the attempt was made to bind together the Turks with all their linguistic kin in a new national consciousness by the ideal of 'Turanism.' Ataturk was the leader of the 'People's Party' (*Halk Firkasi*), which he had founded. The principles of the People's Party were included in the constitution by a law of February 3, 1937. By means of an adroit diplomacy, Turkey was able to reconcile completely its ancient Christian enemies in the Balkan peninsula. And, by means of an extensive exchange of populations, a perennial source of friction between Turkey and Greece was removed. The Balkan Pact was signed in Athens on February 9, 1934, in which Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and Rumania, and later

Bulgaria, too, bound themselves to aid each other militarily in case of attack. Ataturk died in Istanbul on November 10, 1938, and Ismet Inonu became the second President of the Turkish Republic.

With a population of over 28 million, Turkey covers 296, 194 square miles of territory spread over Eastern Thrace (Europe) and Anatolia (Asia Minor). The seat of the government is Ankara (in Anatolia), while Istanbul (former Constantinople) is the largest city. On May 14, 1950, the Democratic Party voted the People's Party out of power; the latter party had belonged to Ataturk and Ismet Inonu, who had been in office for 27 years. Celal Bayar, ex-prime minister, became the nation's first president under a 2-party system. In September, 1951, Turkey was admitted as a full member of the 'North Atlantic Treaty Organization' (NATO). During 1950-51, over a quarter of a million Muslim refugees streamed over the border from Communist Bulgaria to Turkey. The 'Eastern (Sa'dabad) Pact,' which was signed on July 8, 1937, between Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan, as well as Iraq, was renewed to continue until 1948.

On February 5, 1937, the Assembly had accepted the principles of the People's Party, namely Nationalism, Democracy, Evolutionism, *Laicism* (i. e., the separation of the State from religion) and *Etatism* (i. e. State ownership or control of the principal means of communication, industries and public utility services), as part of the constitution of the Republic. Adnan Menderes became the new Prime Minister.

Although Islam was not recognized as the religion of the State, the Muslims formed 98.08 percent of the population. After all is said and done, the Turks are second to none in the world in their zeal for the love of Islam, in spite of the fact that, on April 10, 1928, the Turkish Assembly had passed a law amending the constitution in such a way as Islam ceased to be the State religion of the Republic. The new Turkish penal code is based on the Italian penal code, and the new commercial code is based on that of the German. Turkey has been, along with Pakistan and Iran, a member of the Baghdad pact (now, the Central Treaty Organization—CENTO).

In late fifties, Celal Bayar and Menderes' government was toppled by a revolution, which brought General Cemal Gursel in power as the new president, with Ismet Inonu again as the Premier. In early sixties, the cabinet again changed hands, and Turkey joined Pakistan and Iran in the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). During 1961-65, Turkey and Greece again opposed each other on the problem of the persecution of the Turkish minority by the Greek majority in Cyprus.

The Kurds came under the emerging principles of Turkish nationhood—principles which eventually were recorded in the Turkish Constitu-

tion. The principle of 'Populism' (*halk cilik*) meant that the government and the State were actively on the side of the common man. Ataturk's revolution, by another of those principles written into the Constitution, was also Reformist (*inkilapci*), by which was meant that it favoured continuing development, evolution and rapid change. This did not mean that the modern Turks had discarded the whole cultural heritage which they received from the Ottoman Empire, nor did it mean that they had discarded the religious heritage of Islam. Quite the contrary. The economic nationalism (*etatism or devletcilik*) was practically abandoned after the world war II, when it proved to be unworkable.

There is now in Turkey a national spirit that is devoted to the cause of a sovereign State—a lay and democratic republic. The Turks are ardent patriots, and their emotionalism is the ideological dynamic of modern Turkey. In Turkey, national feeling is surprisingly level-headed. It does not seek any territorial expansion. It does not combine with extremist forces to produce a dangerous and uncontrollable team. This new national feeling certainly is the matrix from which has come new Turkey's new ethos—the spirit which actuates manners and customs, moral attitudes, practices and ideals.

The new constitution of the present 'Second' Republic of Turkey was modelled on the constitutional government of the United States of America, which spelled out its 'neutral' character with regard to religion. One of the most radical changes, which this new constitution spelled out in its item of the religious freedom, was the removal of *millat* (religious affiliation) from all official identification papers. It also sought the triumph of Ataturkian secularism, as well as the 'State Socialism', which was an implied economic philosophy of pure Kemalism.

In spite of the adoption of the Western-type nationalism, as in some other Muslim countries, the impact of the Islamic ideology on the life of the Turkish people is apparent. As in some other Muslim countries, it is only the governing classes and the Westernized civil servants, who are a class by themselves, aloof from the Muslim masses, and oblivious to the observance of their religious and traditional practices. With her further closer contacts with the Muslim countries, it is expected that Turkey will find it more convenient and fruitful to call herself a Muslim country that she undoubtedly is.

Turkey's grand National Assembly, on march, 28, 1966, elected Senator General Cevdet Sunay as the new president of the Turkish Republic to replace ailing Gen. Cemal Gursel. The new Prime Minister of Turkey is Suleyman Demirel. Turkey suffered from disastrous earthquakes in August, 1966.

(B)

IRAN

THE history of Iran dates far back to the days of unrecorded times. The earliest known inhabitants were the Elamites, probably of the Turanian stock, with their capital at Susa. Approximately, in the third millennium B.C., the country was occupied by invaders from the East, who, much later, became known as the Medes. It was under their rule that the teachings of Zoroaster were acknowledged. During the 6th. century B.C., another stream of Eastern invaders, known as the Persians, came into prominence, who were the real ancestors of the present day Iranians. The story of their great kings—Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius—is well known. In the time of Darius (c. 500 B.C.), the Persian Empire extended from the present West Pakistan to Macedonia and Danube. Alexander the Great broke Persian resistance and conquered the whole of Asia Minor upto Iran and West Pakistan. At his death, in 323 B.C., his empire was maintained by Seleucus. As a result, the Greek thought took root in the land of the Persians.

Under the Sassanid king Shapur I (241-72 C.E.), Mani had emerged as the founder of a new gnostic religion influenced by Christianity, Babylon and Iran. The successes destined to Manicheanism were greatly in the Roman empire as well as in its land of origin, Babylonia. In 484 C.E., there arose a new religious teacher, Mazdak, who, like Mani, continued the gnostic tendency in Iran, but whose teachings in practice led to the communization of wives and goods. Chosroes I, however, restored orthodox Zoroastrianism, and was rewarded by its grateful priests with the title of *Naushirawan*. The last Sassanid king, Yezdegerd, was defeated by the Arabs, and became a fugitive. In 651 C.E., his own treacherous subjects assassinated him near Merv. The Parsis of the Indo-Pakistan sub-

continent date their era from the day of his accession to the throne (632 C.E.). Iran came under the sway of Islam after him.

Ya'qub, a former coppersmith (*Saffar*, hence his descendants' name of 'Saffarids'), became *Amir*, and conquered Khorasan and other provinces in Iran, in 867 C.E. He turned toward the East, and spread Islam in Afghanistan. In 871 C.E., the Caliph at Baghdad enfeoffed him with Kerman, Balkh, Pars, Sistan and Sind. Ya'qub *Saffar* died in Gundeshapur in 879 C.E.

In Shi'ite circles, the doctrine was widespread that all injustice in the world would come to an end, when the last Imam, still living in concealment, appeared on earth as the *Mahdi* (the righteously guided). While one of their groups, who did not acquire political power till later, was awaiting a twelfth descendant of 'Ali as this *Mahdi*, the hopes of the others were bound up with the seventh, Isma'il, who had died in 762 C.E., even before his father, Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq. This accident, coupled with the mystical sanctity of the number 'seven' gave these 'Seveners' the basis of their doctrine. This was combined with the Iranian ideology of divine grace, gnostic speculations of hermetic origin, as well as elements of the Greek philosophy and the Manichean religion of the elite, into an esoteric doctrine, which fitted in with the inclination to the formation of secret societies. It found literary expression, a century later, in the writings of the *Ikhwan al-Safa* (the Brethren of Purity), a kind of a philosophical encyclopaedia. It first emerged as a sect in Iraq in 890 C.E., in the region around Wasit. There, a man, by the name of Hamdan Qarmat (probably an Aramaic word meaning 'the secret teacher'), established a meeting place for his followers which, on the example of the Prophet, he called *Dar al-Hijrah*. The whole sect were called 'Qarmatians' after his surname 'Qarmat'.

The Iranian saga of kings and heroes had hitherto been handed down primarily by word of mouth. But its foundations had already been laid in the Middle Persian prose works, which Ibn al-Muqaffa' had translated into Arabic and so made accessible to Arab historians, in particular to Tabari. The first attempt to versify it was made by the poet Daqiqi, who lived at the court of the Samanid Nuh ibn Mansur (976-97 C.E.), but was killed when he had just completed about a thousand verses. Firdausi of Tus took up his work around 990 C.E., when he was already 60 years old, and completed it eleven years later. *Shahnamah* ('the Book of Kings'), in which we encounter the essence of the Persian epic style at the summit of its perfection, and which displays the master hand of a poetic genius, was dedicated by him to the ruler of his country, Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi; in many places, Firdausi praised Mahmud as the mightiest and

most kindly of rulers. Firdausi, later, removed to the West, to the court of the Buyid Baha'uddaulah in Baghdad, where he wrote the epic *Yusuf-o-Zulaikha*, which, in scope, approximates the *Iliad*. After Firdausi returned to his native city, Tus, he died there, in his advanced 70s, shortly after 1020 C.E.

The great patron of learning, Nizamul Mulk, *Wazir* of Malik Shah (son of Alp Arslan), had erected a Nizamiyah *madressah* in Nishapur and another in Baghdad, between 1065 C.E. and 1067 C.E. The Ash'arite leader, 'Ali al-Ash'ari (d. 935 C.E.), had tried to reconcile the dialectical method of the Mu'tazilites with orthodox thought. Nizamul Mulk, too, favoured this modern tendency. Under Nizamul Mulk's protection flourished the great theological thinker of Islam, Ghazzali. After his patron, Nizamul Mulk, was killed in 1092 C.E., he became intensely devoted to mysticism. Ghazzali spent 11 years in tranquil seclusion, mostly in Syria, and wrote his famous work, 'the Revivification of the Sciences of Religion' (*Ihya'ul'Uloom*), which he published around the turn of the 5th. century of the Hijrah (c. 1106 C.E.). Ghazzali supported the reconciliation of dialectics with theology, begun by al-Ash'ari, and provided the doctrinal edifice of Islam with a new structure, based on the method of dialectics. He died, at the age of only 54, on December 19, 1106 C.E., at Tus.

Since 1524, Iran had been ruled by Isma'il's son, Tahmasp, who accorded the Turkish Sultan's claims to the Caliphate no more recognition than his father had done. After the Persian governor in Baghdad had deserted to the Turkish Sultan, but been subdued again by the Iranian Shah, Sultan Sulaiman took it as a pretext for initiating a war against Iran. In 1534, since the Shah had to retreat before the Turkish general, Sulaiman was able to advance to the Iranian capital at Tabriz and to take possession of Baghdad.

The foundation of the Safavid power has been referred to as constituting the rise of Iran to national statehood. But, quite apart from the fact that, the concept of nationality was entirely alien to its environment, a ruling dynasty of Iran, in whose veins Turkish and Greek blood ran, in addition to Arab, and which was propped up in the capital on Turkish troops, can scarcely be called 'national'. The scholars, with whose help Isma'il brought the Shi'ism to power in Iran, were largely of foreign descent, who wrote in Arabic. The reign of Tahmasp, who ruled for over 52 years, was filled with incessant warfare against his enemies, the Uzbeks in the east and the Osmanlis in the west. It goes without saying that, the long reign of Tahmasp Shah, who sought glory in the most painful compliance with every commandment of Shi'ism, did not precisely redound to Iran's blessing.

Isma'il II alienated the pillar of his house—the Qizilbash—by his openly displayed dislike of the Shi'ism. He died probably from poisoning in 1577. Before his accession to the Iranian throne, in 1736, the Turkoman Nadir had forced the Iranian grandees to renounce the Shi'ite tenets, introduced by Isma'il I. He did not, however, demand their reversion to the Sunnite faith, but granted them the status of a new (5th.) orthodox school, named after Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq. Nadir Shah wanted to secure a special prayer area in *Ka'bah* (Mecca) for his new religious school; nevertheless, this 'reformation' did not endure beyond his own reign.

Nadir Shah marched into Delhi, but reinstated the Mughal emperor, after he had ceded all provinces of India north of the Indus. Nadir imposed a very heavy tribute on Muhammad Shah, which included the famous diamond *Koh-i-Noor* and the 'Peacock Throne' (*Takht-e-Ta'os*). In 1747, Nadir Shah was assassinated.

The founder of 'Babi'ism', Syed 'Ali Muhammad, was born in Bushir on March 26, 1821. He became acquainted with the mystic doctrine of the *Shaikhi* (a dissenting Shi'ite school of theology), and preached it in the 'Mosque of the Blacksmiths' in Shiraz against the dominant Shi'ite orthodoxy. After the death of the head of the *Shaikhis*, Syed Qasim of Risht, the school elected him the latter's successor. In 1844, exactly 1,000 years after the disappearance of the 12th. Shi'ite Imam, whose reappearance was awaited by the sect of the 'Twelvers' (*Ithna 'Ashri*), he felt summoned as the *Bab* (or Gate), by which mankind "could be united with the Imam—the executor of the Divine Will." But, 'Ali Muhammad went beyond it and designated himself later as *Nuqtah-e-A'la* (the 'Highest Point') or *Nuqtah-e-Bayan* (the 'Point of Revelation'), then as *Qa'im* (i.e., he who is to arise from the House of the Prophet at the end of time), and finally as the incarnation of the divine revelation itself. While in the beginning, he merely desired to be considered the *Imam Mahdi*, later he called himself the 'Mirror', in which the believers might behold God Himself. *Bab* made himself manifest to his followers by his own 'book of revelation'—the *Bayan*. He divided the year into 19 months, and these into 19 days, and appointed a board of 19 leaders—the number 19 being apparently sacred to him. Beautiful, young and poetically gifted Qurratul 'Ain of Qazwin was a great exponent of Babi'ism. She, along with *Bab* himself, was shot by government troops in 1850 at Tabriz.

In order to escape persecutions, the leaders of the Babi sect withdrew to Baghdad. Their chief was Subh-Ezel, whose younger brother, Baha'ullah, was more prominent. In 1861-2, he wrote the book, *Iqan*, which spread among the sect even more than the writings of the founder

himself. In 1864, the Babis shifted to Istanbul and then to Adrianople. In 1866, Baha'ullah put forth the claim there that he was the next manifestation of the divine will foretold by *Bab*. Thus, a schism arose, since his brother's party refused to recognize his claim. When the quarrel led to outbreaks of violence, the *Porte* had to separate them. Baha'ullah and his followers were exiled to Acre; Subh-Ezel and his disciples to Cyprus. Baha'ullah died on May 27, 1892. His son, 'Abdul Baha, tried to form a general religion of humanitarianism. One of his disciples, an Englishwoman, Laura Clifford Barnay, disseminated the Baha'ism profusely, whose present leader, Mirza Sohrab, lives in New York.

Nasiruddin Shah met the pan-Islamic revivalist, Syed Jamaluddin 'Afghani', in Munich, in 1889, and took him along with him to Teheran. The Shah, who, at first, had shown great interest in his ideas of reform, soon turned against him, and, in 1891, had him expelled over the Turkish border into Iraq. Soon afterward, Sultan 'Abdul Hameed of Turkey invited him to Istanbul, hoping to be able to use him as an instrument for his pan-Islamic movement. Afghani lived there until his death on March 9, 1897, in Nishantash. In 1896, the Shah of Iran was shot by a disciple of Jamaluddin. The driving force of the revolution in Iran, initiated by Afghani, were the *anjumans*, partly local representative bodies, partly debating clubs, in which anarchist ideas and terrorism were preached. The Iranian nationalists in Tabriz, emboldened by the revolution against Sultan 'Abdul Hameed, which had just been successfully carried out in Turkey, revolted, in 1908, against the Shah. The nationalists succeeded in seizing the capital and in deposing Muhammad 'Ali Shah.

From 1912, northern Iran was delivered helpless into Russian hands, since Britain was content with its own sphere of interests in the south. After the end of World War I, chaos prevailed in Iran. The Bolsheviks had surrendered all their acquisitions and claims of the Tsarist regime in Iran directly after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk; but the areas given up by the Russians were at once occupied by the British. Sir Percy Cox was able to conclude an 'accord' with Iran on August 9, 1919, which, on the pattern of Egypt and Iraq, delivered over the army and the government of Iran to British 'advisers'. Simultaneously, an Iranian delegation in Paris endeavoured in vain to arouse the interest for Iran of the Allies engaged in haggling over the fate of the world.

In the course of the years, 1921-22, the turbulent north of the country was subdued by Raza Khan in destructive guerrilla warfare, and, in 1923, Raza Khan also intervened in the south, where the British had completely undermined the prestige of the Iranian government. Now,

Raza Khan took over the premiership. In 1924, the demand for a republic was raised. On October 28, 1925, the *Majlis* (Iranian parliament) deposed Ahmad Shah, the last Qachar ruler of Iran, and transferred the executive power to premier Raza Khan. On December 15, the *Majlis* chose him to be the new Shahinshah of Iran with the name of Raza Shah Pahalevi. In foreign policy, Raza Shah was able to promote the cultural and religious community of the Near and Middle East. On July 8, 1937, a treaty was concluded in Sa'dabad (the summer residence of the Shah, near Teheran), with Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan, known as the 'Sa'dabad Pact'. His Imperial Majesty Muhammad Raza Shah Pahalevi, the present Shahinshah of Iran (area, about 628,000 sq. miles; 1966 estimated population: over 22 million; capital, Teheran), was born in 1929, and succeeded to the throne on September 16, 1941, on the abdication of his father.

The modern phase of self-consciousness, of Iranian revival and nationalism, is little over 75 years old: the constitutional struggle of the turn of the century and the first decade of this, the inter-war period under Raza Shah Pahalevi, and the years since World War II. In all these periods, the concern of the Iranians has been to secure independence and freedom: freedom from tyranny within and independence from pressures without. The present phase of Iranian nationalism is concerned primarily with oil, which has been at once the bane and the blessing of modern Iran. Dr. Muhammad Mosaddeq, from the beginning of the oil controversy (from 1944 to 1954) had been the leader, and, therefore, for the Iranian people, the symbol, of the post-war effort to reassert Iran's independence *vis-a-vis* every outsider. The communist-dominated Tudeh party did everything possible to further oil nationalization and to eliminate Western influence.

Of probably as much, if not more, significance is the problem posed by the Sunni minority of 22 percent in Iran, where Shi'ism is the state-sponsored religion or sect. Nevertheless, the ancient rivalry is happily fading in view of the need for Muslim unity facing the larger and more serious threats of today. Moreover, the modern state tries, in theory, to rise above this expression of discrimination. This brings us to the more important problem posed by religion in Iran. This is the problem of the attitude of the people toward dynamic Westernism and its challenge. Perhaps the most practical introduction to the subject is to explain that, in Muslim society, there have developed three major groups, or attitudes, in relation to the impact of the West.

- (1) Those who are overwhelmed by the present superiority of the

West in the arts and techniques of this material civilization. Unaware of, or indifferent to, the moral and spiritual foundations of their own Islamic civilization, they are prepared to accept the West and all it brings, the sooner and the more drastically the better.

(2) Probably a more numerous group, but varied in their degree of self-consciousness and understanding, are those in favour of a qualified assimilation of the West in accordance with proved and admitted needs, but in loyalty to their own tested and cherished values. This usually takes the form of forthright acceptance of Western science and technique, selective adoption and modified adaptation of Western social practices and institutions, and more rarely the integration into their own philosophy of Western beliefs and values. They believe in and strive for the reform of their society, but they remain unconvinced that they need to, or should, abandon its essential principles and institutions. The foregoing, for the most part, are to be found among the educated.

(3) There remains the vast majority, who make up the rank and file of the folk of Iran. Among them are those, who are unaware of the problem posed, those who are indifferent to it, those, vaguely troubled by it without knowing anything of the nature of their uneasiness and those persuaded of a quite different reaction and solution—the complete rejection of the West. The primary problem that this society and these varying groups face is one, of course, that will not allow for solution in a short length of time.

In attempting to work themselves through this problem of building unity and stability in national life and culture, the Iranians are facing a challenge that has not come to them for over half a century. The Iranian national revival began at the turn of the century by the clerics and the aristocracy. During the inter-war period of forced-draft Westernization and modernization under the leadership of Raza Shah, secularism and a more complete facing toward the West was adopted. But, the people never accepted it in their hearts, and, with the return of a new freedom, which they are now vigilantly attempting to preserve, they are now endeavouring to bring about more of a unified expression of the body politic.

The Iranian people are presented with a truly creative opportunity, for if they have time and the context in which to work, they may get farther on toward a solution to what is the basic problem of Islam in the modern world: the correct way whereby Muslims can live in the modern world and yet discriminately discover and preserve their abiding values

and institutions, consonant with the modern world and yet safeguard what they cherish the most.

As regards the Iranian oil, its total production, in 1961, was over 50 million tons; the same year, its refining statistics were over 20 million tons. In 1965, Iran's oil revenues were about \$ 535 million. Statistics compiled by the *Bank Milli* in Iran showed that, in 1964, the *per capita* income in Iran was over 9,000 rials (10 rials = one shilling) i.e.; = £ 45. This figure exceeded the \$ 120, determined by the United Nations mission. Sixty-five percent Iranians own houses, and 58 percent of them are farmers. Iran (and to a considerable extent also Iraq), being a bulwark of Shi'ism, has unfortunately been cut off from the present currents of the general Islamic resurgence and the impact of Islamic ideology.

(C)

AFGHANISTAN

THE principal element in the diverse population of Afghanistan are the Pathans (44%). They are the rulers of the country. The Pathans are of the Turco-Iranian type, and several racial strains have gone into the composition of their various tribes. Of this type are the Pathans on both sides of the Durand Line (the political boundary between West Pakistan and Afghanistan). The original habitat of the Pathans was the country around the Sulaiman range of mountains. The name 'Pathan' is a corrupt form of the true name 'Pushtun', of which 'Pukhtun' is a dialectic variant. In any case, no clear reference to the name appears before the 16th century. The name 'Afghan' is of unknown origin. It first appeared in *Hudud al-'Alam*, a work by an unknown Arab geographer, who wrote towards the end of the 10th century C. E. Ibn Batutah, the famous Berber (Moroccan) traveller, passed through Kabul in 1333 C.E.; he found it inhabited "by a tribe of Persians called Afghans", whose principal home was the *Koh-i-Sulaiman*. One of their tribes, the 'Ghilzais' are actually of Turkish origin, having descended from the Khalj tribe, who used to live in what is now the Qirghiz S.S.R. They had founded the Khilji dynasty in India. The Ghilzais had also ruled over Iran for a period.

The Tajiks (36%), unlike the Pathans including the Ghilzais, are a non-nomadic race of Persian extraction. Their origin and early history are obscure. They are settled chiefly around Kabul, in Kohistan and in the valleys of the upper Oxus. They are shrewd traders, though poor fighters. The modern Tajiks are called *Farsivans* by the Afghans. A very large proportion of the Afghan population in the north of

the country is composed of tribes of Tartar or Turkish origin. Of these the most important and numerous are the Uzbeks (8%), who inhabit the rolling plains of Afghan Turkistan from the Murghab river in the west to Faizabad in the east. They had formed semi-independent *khanates* in the 19th century, which had disappeared when the Afghans had extended their control upto the Oxus. Of the less important Turkish tribes are the Turkmen, found along the southern bank of the Oxus. On the upper reaches of this river are the Qirghiz, also of Turkish origin. The latter are a nomadic people, who have close affinity with the tribes of Russian Turkistan.

Scattered over Afghanistan are also groups of Qazakhs, Qarluq and Chaghatai Turks (4%) in north Afghanistan. All these Turkish tribes speak Turki, which somewhat resembles modern Turkish. The Hazaras (5%) are the descendants of the Mongol Tartar regiments (or Mings), brought into Afghanistan by Chengiz Khan as garrison troops. The Turki word 'Ming' means 'a thousand.' This was changed into its Persian equivalent *hazar* by the Tajiks. The Hazaras profess the Shi'ah faith. They inhabit a large tract of central Afghanistan, called 'Hazarajat', where they carry on a pastoral existence. The origin of the Kafirs (3%) of Kafiristan (or Nuristan, as it is now called), is not known for certain. It was in the end of the 19th century, that Amir 'Abdur-Rahman converted them to Islam, and renamed their country 'Nuristan'.

In Islamic times, Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi the Great (997—1030 C.E.) and his dynasty at Ghazni, and, after him, Sultan Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghauri (1175—1206 C.E.) and his descendants at Ghaur, both, having conquered India, lent glory to Afghanistan. During the 13th. century, Afghanistan, like Iran, suffered from the invasion of the Mongol hordes led by Chengiz Khan; the Mongols had established themselves in the north of the Hindukush range. The greater part of the country remained under their rule until the rise of Timur, who settled in northern Afghanistan during the later part of the 14th. century. In 1504, Babur, a descendant of Timur, occupied Kabul; in 1526, invading India, he defeated Ibrahim Lodhi (the Pathan Sultan of Delhi), and founded there the Mughal Empire. It was actually Ya'qub Saffari of Iran, who, in the later half of the 9th century C.E., spread Islam in Afghanistan. The great Muslim scholar, Abu Raihan Muhammad al-Biruni, had followed Sultan Mahmud to Ghaznah, when the latter occupied it. Biruni visited India several times. In 1017 C.E., he began his famous book on India (*Kitab-*

al-Hind), which is quite unique in Arabic literature, and has also been of great service to Western scholarship.

In the 18th century, after the disintegration of the Safavid power, Mahmud, the chieftain of the Ghilzai tribe, had become Shah of Iran, but his cousin and successor, Ashraf, had been dethroned by the Turk, Nadir. After the latter's death, a chieftain of the Abdali tribe, serving in Nadir's army, had risen to power in Qandhar, as the guardian of Nadir's grandson, Shahrukh. As Shah, he assumed the name of *Durri-Durrani*; his tribe were known as Durrani accordingly. His successor, Timur Shah (1773-93), removed his residence to Kabul; Timur Shah's son, Zaman Shah, was dethroned in 1800 by his brother, Mahmud Shah. During his reign, he lost Kabul to Dost Muhammad, and lost the rest of the country, including Herat, to the chieftains of the Barakzai tribe. To safeguard the Indian frontier against Iran and Russia, the British occupied Kabul and Qandhar, in 1839, and in Shah Shuja' of the Sadokzai tribe, as Amir, found a pliant instrument of their policy. But, in 1842, Dost Muhammad inflicted a bloody defeat on the British; they had to evacuate the country and recognize him as Amir.

Under pressure by the British, the Iranians had to evacuate Afghanistan and recognize its independence in 1857. Sher 'Ali, Dost Muhammad's son, followed him on the throne in 1863. Thereafter, the Russian General Stolietov succeeded in pressing forward into Kabul with a military mission and winning the Amir Sher 'Ali for an alliance against the British; whereupon the British attacked Afghanistan. Lord Roberts advanced into Afghanistan in December, 1878, and occupied Kabul and Qandhar. Sher 'Ali fled to Turkistan and died in Mazar-i-Sharif in 1879. His place was taken by his son, Ya'qub. In the peace treaty of Gandamak of May 28, 1879, he accepted a British embassy in Kabul, and also ceded both the Bolan pass and the Kurram valley to the British. The same year, however, a mob in Kabul cut down the British ambassador, Cavagnari, with his escort. Thereupon, Lord Roberts was sent to Afghanistan the second time, who reoccupied Kabul. Then, Ya'qub was deposed and exiled to India. His nephew, 'Abdurrahman, was now the master of the entire country.

Since the First World War, Afghanistan has energetically played her role in protecting herself from submergence by Russia and subjugation by Britain. The last British attempt to subdue the country ended in 1919, in spite of a military defeat, in the diplomatic victory of Afghanistan, since Britain ultimately gave up the attempt to bring the country

under her control. Russia, too, had to surrender the plan of incorporating Afghanistan in the ring of Turkish Soviet Republics founded by her. Amir Amanullah had succeeded his father, Habibullah, assassinated on February 20, 1919, by rebels under the command of his brother, Nasrullah. He was able to suppress the rebellions of the Alizai in 1923, and the Mangal in 1924, as well as of the Pathans; but his premature and overhasty zeal for reform proved his undoing. Following the examples of Turkey and Iran, he attempted to place his country with one blow in the ranks of Western modern states by introducing accomplishments of Western techniques by reforms of legislation and administration. But his backward and orthodox subjects were not yet ready to receive the reforms. In 1928, Amanullah travelled to Europe, and in his absence, the people rose against his rule, incited by the British agents from India. A low man, *Bacha-e-Saqqa* (a water-carrier's son), from near Peshawar in British India, occupied Afghanistan, and ascended the throne at Kabul under the name of Habibullah II. In January, 1929, Amanullah had to abdicate and leave the country. In October, Amanullah's cousin, Nadir Khan, invaded Afghanistan, with the help of Indian Muslims, shot the rebel ruler, and himself became the king at Kabul.

It was under the leadership of Amir 'Abdurrahman that, the Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission determined the northern boundaries, and the 'Pamirs Agreement' and the 'Durand Agreement' (1893) fixed the northern and eastern frontiers of Afghanistan, respectively. The MacMahon Award finally closed the old feud with Iran of Afghanistan over the distribution of the waters of the Helmand in Sistan. This frontier was re-affirmed by a Turkish Boundary Commission, appointed by Iran and Afghanistan conjointly. In 1934, Afghanistan joined the League of Nations, and, in 1937, it signed the Sa'dabad Pact with Iran, Iraq and Turkey. A treaty of friendship was concluded with China on March 25, 1944. A Soviet-Afghan Frontier Agreement was concluded in June, 1946; on November 9, the same year, Afghanistan entered the United Nations.

The area of Afghanistan is about 250,000 square miles, and her estimated population (1966) is over thirteen million. Kabul is the capital. The present ruler is Muhammad Zahir Shah (born at Kabul in 1914), and succeeded to the throne after his father, King Muhammad Nadir Shah's assassination on November 8, 1933. The written constitution, embodying the present system of government, was introduced in 1930, and amended in 1938. This constitution is in harmony with the Islamic laws and social conditions prevailing in the country. In the event of the

necessity of a change, the *Loya-Jirgah* (the great national assembly), comprised of the king, the elected representatives, members of parliament, and the cabinet, can be called. According to the constitution, Afghanistan is a limited monarchy. The Parliament consists of three sections:

1. The King :
2. The *Majlis-i-Shoora* (House of Representatives) ; and
3. The *Majlis-i-A'yan* (Senate)

Afghanistan is one of those few Muslim countries in the world (the others being Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Libya), where there is some semblance of the prevalence and application of the Islamic law. First democratic elections were held in Afghanistan under the new constitution of the country in August-September, 1965, which brought about the new parliament.

(D)

MALAYSIA

THE new Muslim country of Malaysia consists of the Federation of Malaya, North Borneo (Sabah), and Sarawak. Brunei is yet to join it ; and Singapore has seceded from it.

The Federation of Malaya had come into being on February 1, 1948. It had succeeded the Malayan Union, which was set up on April 1, 1946. The Federation consisted of the same territories as the former Union, namely the nine States of the Malay peninsula and the two British Settlements of Penang and Malacca; Singapore, the third of the former Straits Settlements, had joined Malaysia after its independence, but later withdrew. Each of the nine Malayan States is still governed by its Muslim ruler.

The former Federated Malay States were : (1) Perak, (2) Selangor, (3) Negri Sembilan (which is itself a federation of small states), and (4) Pahang.

The former Unfederated Malay States comprised . (1) Johore, (2) Kedah, (3) Perlis, (4) Kelantan, and (5) Trengganu.

Malacca, one of the oldest European settlements in the East, was occupied by the Portuguese under Albuquerque in 1511, and held by them till 1641, when it passed into the possession of the Dutch; remaining in their hands till 1795, when it was captured by the British. It was restored (under the Treaty of Vienna) to the Dutch in 1818, being finally retroceded to the English East India Company in 1824.

Penang (Prince of Wales' Island) was the first British settlement in the Malay Peninsula, being ceded by the Sultan of Kedah to the English

East India Company in 1786; Province of Wellesley being added in 1800. From 1826 to 1946, Malacca and Penang were incorporated with Singapore under a single government which, from 1867 onward, was a crown colony, known as 'Straits Settlements'.

The total area of the Federation of Malaya (nine Muslim Malay States and two former British Settlements, as indicated above) was 50,680 square miles; their total population (1966 estimate) being over six million. Population by races was: Muslim Malays, about 3 million; Chinese Christians and Buddhists, about 2 million; Indo-Pakistanis, over 925,000; Eurasians, Europeans, and others, about 75,000. Kuala Lumpur is the federal capital, where has recently been erected (1965) the grand 'Masjid Negara'. 'The All-Malaya Muslim Welfare Organization' is doing excellent service to Islam. The Muslim Malays in the Federation are little over 50 percent, closely followed by the Chinese (Christians and Buddhists); in the former Straits Settlements, the latter are as many as about 60%. For years (in the second half of the 1940s and the first half of the 1950s), the peninsula was ravaged by the Communist guerrilla terrorists—the terrorists being mostly the Chinese—who were finally suppressed with great difficulty.

Singapore became a separate British crown colony on April 1, 1946, when the former colony of the Straits Settlements was dissolved; Penang and Malacca being incorporated in the Malayan Union (since February 1, 1948, the Federation of Malaya), and Labuan being transferred to British North Borneo (Sabah).

Singapore is an island about 26 miles long by 14 wide, with an area of 220 square miles, separated from the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula by a strait three-quarters of a mile in width. The estimated population (1966) for combined Singapore, Christmas and Cocos-Keeling islands is about three million. Penang is an island off the western coast of the Peninsula, at the northern entrance of the Straits of Malacca; on the opposite shore of the mainland (about two miles distant) is the province of Wellesley—a strip of territory, averaging eleven miles in width and extending 31 miles along the coast, forming part of the former Settlement of Penang. The former British Settlement of Malacca is on the western coast of the Peninsula between Singapore and Penang; it is a strip of territory 43 miles in length and 26 in breadth. In Singapore, the Malay Muslims are in minority, and Christian and Buddhist Chinese are in majority; there is also a strong Indo-Pakistani business community.

Labuan is an island, 35 square miles in area, lying six miles off the north-west coast of Borneo. The former settlement comprised seven smaller

islands. It was ceded to Britain by the Sultan of Brunei in 1846. In 1946, Labuan was re-united with North Borneo; its capital is Victoria. The estimated (1966) population is 30,000 (all Muslims).

The Cocos (or Keeling) Islands is a group of 27 small coral islands, 581 miles distant from Java Head, and 1,161 miles from Singapore. They were declared a British possession in 1857. In 1903, they were annexed to the Straits Settlements and incorporated with the Settlement of Singapore.

Christmas Island is in the Indian Ocean. It lies 223 miles south-east of Java Head, and 529 miles north-east from the Cocos Islands. It is about eleven miles long and 4 1/2 miles wide; area about 60 square miles. The island was formally annexed by Britain on June 6, 1888, and incorporated with the Settlement of Singapore in 1900.

North Borneo (Sabah) occupies the northern part of the island of Borneo. The territory was administered by the British North Borneo Company since 1881. The rights of the company were transferred to the British Crown on July 15, 1946. Its area is about 29,387 square miles; its population (1966 estimate) is about 500,000; the majority being of Malay Muslims. There are over 50,000 Chinese. Jesselton is the capital of North Borneo. There are many Catholic and Protestant missions. The laws of the mainland were based on the Indian penal, criminal and civil codes.

Brunei is a state on the north west coast of Borneo. It is bounded on all sides by the Sarawak territory, an intrusion of which splits the state into two separate parts. Its area is about 2,226 square miles; population (1966 estimate) being about 65,000 (majority being of Malay and Bornean Muslims, with some Chinese and Indian Hindus and Muslims). The capital is Brunei, where the Sultan has built a beautiful marble mosque. In 1888, by a treaty, the state was placed under the protection of Britain. In 1906, by another treaty, the general administration of the state was entrusted to a British Resident, who was the real ruler of the state. The present Sultan, His Highness 'Umar 'Ali Saifuddin (*Washa'dul Khair-i-Waddin*), succeeded his late brother on June 6, 1950.

Sarawak has an area of about 47,000 square miles. The present territory was obtained in 1841 by Sir James Brooke from the Sultan of Brunei. Under an agreement of 1888, Sarawak was placed under the protection of Britain. The "White Rajah" regained his administration from the British military authorities in 1946. The 1966 estimated population of Sarawak was about 700,000, with the majority of Malay and Bornean Muslims. Kuching is the capital. Oil is found in high quantities in this

region, particularly in Brunei. There are many Christian missionaries, supported by the British.

With the independence of Malaya and Singapore in early sixties, North Borneo (Sabah), Brunei and Sarawak too obtained their political freedom from British colonialism, and all the five regions merged into a Federation of Malaysia, in August, 1963, which was, however, opposed bitterly by Indonesia, as the latter claimed the Bornean territories (North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak) as her own. Indonesia imposed 'confrontation' against Malaysia to the extent that the former withdrew from the United Nations Organization on this issue. Many attempts at reconciliation failed, and the political atmosphere in South-East Asia then contaminated because of this strife as well as by the Vietnamese war raging between the Communist North and the American-dominated South.

Political tension inside Malaysia brewed early in 1965 when Lee Kuan Yew, the Chinese Premier of Singapore, rebelled against Tengku 'Abdurrahman, Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaysia, with the result that Singapore withdrew from the Federation of Malaysia late in 1965.

The Muslims are in a majority in Malaysia. Religiously-speaking, Malaysia, like Indonesia, is a bulwark of Shafi' Sunnism. However, in the prevailing unsettled political circumstances, the ideology of Islam is hardly to receive its due and proper attention by the Malay Muslim leaders, who are, otherwise, zealous Muslims and keen on the propagation of Islam. Singapore is overwhelmingly Chinese (Buddhists and Christians). Malaysia (minus Singapore) : Area, 129,293 sq. m.; Pop. (1966 est.), 7½ million—Muslims, 75%.

In the Indo-Pakistani war of September, 1965, on Kashmir, Malaysia sided with India against Pakistan and the rightful cause of the Muslims of Kashmir, since the Malaysian Hindu delegate in the Security Council, Ramani, attacked Pakistan; whereupon Pakistan snapped her diplomatic ties with Malaysia. But, happily, in August, 1966, Malaysia and Indonesia signed a treaty normalising their mutual relations, and, in September, 1966, through the noble efforts of the Shah of Iran, Pakistan and Malaysia resumed their diplomatic ties.

(E)

INDONESIA

THE word 'Indonesia' is composed of two Greek words, *Indos* and *Nesos*, meaning "Indian Islands". The term was coined by a German ethnologist a little less than a century ago. The Indonesians are of Malaysian blood, stemming out of the Cromagnard type, with a strong blend of Mongol blood and a mixture of Asiatic-Negroid blood of Grimaldi types.

The exact date of Islam's introduction into the archipelago is not known, because here, unlike many other countries, Islam did not follow a Muslim conqueror. It was the Faith of Islam that conquered Hindu and Buddhist rulers, whose example was followed by their subjects. Towards the end of the 13th. and the beginning of the 14th. centuries, Haji Ibrahim came from Arabia and landed in Sumatra. He was the first Muslim missionary, who introduced Islam in Indonesia. Haji Ibrahim's preaching found very fruitful soil—the Atjeh people being the first to embrace Islam.

In 1602, a trading company was formed in Holland, named the 'Dutch East India Company'. The Company was granted a monopoly of trade with the archipelago and vested with the right to exercise the power of sovereignty in the name of the Dutch Crown. It traded with and ruled over the Indonesian archipelago for 3½ centuries.

The declaration for independence by Indonesia, made on August 17, 1945, puzzled, mystified and confused many people, because very little was known to the outside world about any organized national movement for political freedom in the islands during the Dutch and the Japanese

regimes. The Dutch counter-action to this Declaration was sharp and brisk. The movement for independence in Indonesia, which started in 1908, had a very late start owing to many factors. The ruthless exploitation of the country and the Netherlands' 'Net Profit Policy' created so diverse and complicated economic and social conditions in the islands that the Archipelago could not conceive, till the beginning of the 20th. century, the idea of 'Collective Nationalism'.

In the face of all these difficulties, the people of Indonesia started their crusade late for independence, but their leaders successfully steered the boat through the dark and violent storms of imperialistic suppression and repression.

The history of the national movement in Indonesia can be divided into three stages. In the first but short period, we will see the general awakening in the country as a result of the general political awakening in Asia, and under the influence of Japan's victory over Russia in 1905, which shattered the spell of Western superiority and invincibility. Before the outbreak of World War I, this national movement in Indonesia had entered the second stage, which manifested in the idea of 'collective nationalism'. Then, President Wilson's slogan of self-determination found an echo in Indonesia also. The hitherto vague idea of nationalism now became more defined. The national consciousness grew stronger when the Turkish revolution of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the Egyptian drive for independence, the political struggle in India, and Dr. Sun Yat Sun's Chinese revolution became known to the Indonesian people. This phase was soon over-shadowed by the idea of 'Social Democracy.' In a decade's time, the Indonesian national movement was crystallised. In this period, the Indonesian leaders strove to bring about an economic and social evolution in line with the political revolution.

Sharekat Islam party was founded by Haji Smanhudi in 1911 in Surakarta (Java), which was based on religious principles. With this basic policy, the Party soon became very popular.

The speech made by the Dutch Crown in 1901, laying emphasis on Christianity and to lend support "on a firm basis, to Christian missions" shook the Muslims of Indonesia. The policy adopted by the Dutch government on the basis of this speech of the head of their State—to Christianize the Archipelago—deeply hurt the religious susceptibilities of the Muslim people of Indonesia. This attitude of the Dutch government was bitterly criticized by the Left Wing in the 1913 election campaign. Thus, the *Sharekat Islam*, which stood for the promotion

and protection of Islam, became very popular. Haji Agus Salim (who had become Foreign Minister), was one of the dynamic personalities, who brought this Association to a dominant position in the Indonesian political life.

In 1920, the 'East Indies Social Democratic Party' was transformed into 'P.K.I.' (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*), with young Semaun in the chair. This young Communist Party, sprouting out the seeds of the Marxist creed sown in the fertile soil of Indonesia, launched a three-pronged drive (a) to fight the Dutch imperialism and capitalism; (b) to weaken the influence and power of *Sharekat Islam*; and (c) to build up contacts with the people through *Sharekat Islam*. This party started its actions on revolutionary lines.

After Semaun, the chair of the Communist Party was occupied by Darsono, under whose leadership, the Party spread its tentacles all over Indonesia. Its revolutionary actions culminated in a general uprising in Java in November, 1926. Batavia (the capital) and its environs were the scenes of bloody battles. In July, 1927, a new party was formed at Bandung by a young man, called Sukarno, a doctor in engineering, with Marxist leanings. He based the policy of his party on Nationalism, and, in plain language, raised the slogan of 'Indonesia Merdeka' (Free Indonesia). For the first time in the national movement in the Archipelago, he introduced the idea of free Indonesia based on social democracy. This new party—*Partai Nasional Indonesia*—strove to better the social and economic lot of the people. From here onward, the Indonesian national movement entered the third stage.

In December, 1929, the wrath of colonialism fell on the Party. Dr. Sukarno, along with many other leaders, was arrested; he was sentenced to four years' imprisonment after a fake trial, though he was released after having served his sentence for two years. Many thousand Indonesian nationalists were then put behind the bars. After Sukarno's arrest, his party was dissolved, but two new parties were formed. After his release, Dr. Sukarno joined 'Partai Indonesia', one of the two parties formed out of his previous party. Dr. Hatta and Dr. Sutan Sjahrir, on their return from Europe, joined the other leftist party—'Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia.'

The activities of these two leftist parties became intolerable for the Dutch and the government again came out to crush them. Sukarno, Hatta and Sjahrir were arrested and sent to concentration camps, where they remained till the outbreak of the East Asia War.

In May, 1937, a new political party, called 'GERINDO', was formed on the principles of the two leftist parties, that is, free Indonesia, based on social democracy. Young and spirited Indonesians joined this party, among whom notable were Dr. A. K. Gani and Dr. Amir Sjarifuddin. Following the arrest of Sukarno, Hatta and Sjahrir and the collapse of their parties, there was an excellent opportunity for the *Partai Sharekat Islam* to hold the reins of the national movement. Dr. Sukiman (later president of the *Masjumi* Party) made an attempt with the formation of a new party on the Islamic political principles. The new party gained good ground among the masses and, in 1937, was affiliated with the old Islamic party. The fusion restored the strength to the Islamic party, which was later called *Masjumi* and wielded considerable influence in the Indonesian republican circles.

There was a third group of moderates, aiming at the independence of Indonesia by constitutional means. Among the moderate groups, the *Parsatuan Bangsa Indonesia*, under the leadership of Dr. Sutomo, was the most prominent. In December, 1935, a federation of eight moderate associations was formed with the name of *Partai Indonesia Raya*. Thus, three big currents were then working in Indonesia: 1) the leftist national group; 2) the national Islamic group; and 3) the moderate national group, directed towards one end—Indonesia *Merdeka*—but with different approaches to the problem. In 1939 a new federation of the existing parties was formed and named 'GAPI'.

Two schools of thought sprang up in Indonesia in the first year of the Japanese occupation. One group, led by Dr. Sutan Sjahrir and Dr. Amir Sjarifuddin refused to have any truck with Fascist Japan. Some leaders of this group were immediately jailed by the *Kempital* (military police) and others went underground. Dr. Sjahrir went to Tjipanas (in the mountains of West Java) and outwardly isolated himself from politics. The second group, including Sukarno and Hatta felt that the defeat of the Dutch armed forces and the internment of the remaining Dutch civilian population promised the dawn of a new era for Indonesia. They kept in view the difficulties and problems confronting victorious Japan. The Japanese occupation authorities raised the slogans of 'Greater East Asia' and 'Pan-Asianism'. It is an admitted fact that the Japanese approach to the people of the occupied areas, from the typical Japanese view, not caring for the social, religious and psychological feelings of the people, played a considerable part in their early defeat. The colonial powers of the West had not accumulated so much opposition and hatred of the subject peoples during centuries of their rule as much Japan did in the first year of her occupation.

Towards the end of 1942, the *Poesat Tenaga Rakjat* (Central People's Power) was formed under the leadership of Sukarno and Hatta. This organisation, called *Poetera*, was a highly centralised one of all the political parties and trade unions, and surpassed, in this respect, even the 'GAPI'. Many thousands of young men were arrested and sent to the 'Death Valley' for the construction of the Siam-Burma Railway. Crops were confiscated and the people were forced to toe the line of Nipponism. The forcible introduction of Shintoism into the islands made the Muslims of Indonesia adverse to the very idea of being friendly with Japan.

The *Poetera* never broke openly with the Japanese military, but neither did it express opposition openly to the revolts. Many thousands of young nationalists were butchered and other exiled to the Death Valley.

Only two days after Japan's capitulation, the people of Indonesia, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, declared their will to become its member. The Allied High Command placed the Indonesian archipelago under the SEAC instead of General Douglas MacArthur's command, and thus provided a golden opportunity to the Indonesian leaders. After the declaration of Independence rather hastily, a provisional constitution, prepared by the Preparatory Commission, was adopted. In accordance with it, the Commission elected Dr. Sukarno and Dr. Hatta as President and Vice-President, respectively, of the Republic of Indonesia.

The problems facing the new Republic were many, but there were two important factors threatening to crush her independence immediately: 1) a re-born Dutch imperialism was knocking at her door; and 2) the unbridled forces of vengeance was a monster within the country. When the first British troops landed in Batavia on September 29, 1945, the Republic was a going organisation. The Republic of Indonesia came out with its 'Political Manifesto' on November 1, 1945, in order to lay its cards on the table for the judgement of the world. There were some factors, which operated simultaneously with the publication of the Manifesto—the landing of British troops in Indonesia instead of American; a suspected conspiracy between London and the Hague; the direct interest of Britain in the revival of colonialism; America's total abstention; the cold indifference shown by the big powers towards the declaration of Independence which had been made in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; and the over-active Dutch propaganda branding the Indonesian republic as a Japanese puppet.

In June, 1949, an agreement was concluded between Dr. Muhammad

Roem* of Indonesia and Dr. Van Royen of the Netherlands, which was signed at the Hague on November 1, 1949, stipulating that Indonesia would be finally free before the end of that year.

The Republic of the United States of Indonesia accepted sovereignty on the basis of the Draft Constitution, drawn by both the contending parties, and the transfer of sovereignty took place on December 30, 1949. Dr. Sukarno and Dr. Hatta were freed from their detention in the Banka island.

The majority of the Indonesians is Muslim. There are over two million Christians. In the Bali island and the western part of Lombok, there are over a million Hindus. In the outer territories, there are some heathen tribes, and there are also less than a million Chinese Buddhists in the country. The total area of Indonesia is about 1,999,000 square miles, of which some 1,264,000 square miles (62% of the total area) are territorial waters. The land area of 735,400 square miles is divided among 13,677 islands, of which 6,044 are inhabited. The largest inhabited islands are Kalimantan (Borneo), Sumatra, West Irian, Sulawesi (Celebes), Malaccas, Java, Madura, Bali and Timor (West). The total population (1966 estimate) is 110 million. Jakarta (former Batavia) is the capital.

Indonesia is a Unitary Republic with sovereignty vested in the people; its independence was proclaimed on August 17, 1945. The philosophical basis of the State is *Panja Shila*; its national anthem being "Indonesia Raja". The Indonesian constitution stipulates that the highest authority in the State is the *Majlis Permusjawaratan Rakjat*. Composed of representatives from all groups in society, including the political parties, and from all regions of the country, the *Majlis* exercises the people's sovereignty in full and determines the broad lines of state policy. The *Majlis* elects the President as its mandatory to execute the policy it has determined. The President is, therefore, the chief executive. He enacts laws in concurrence with the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat* and is entitled to issue executory regulations and orders. The *Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat* is a house of people's representatives, which holds legislative power in concurrence with the President. The members of the *Dewan* are *ex officio* members of the *Majlis*. The Council of Ministers is responsible only to the President, who has, thus, undivided responsibility for all executive

* The author has the happy reminiscences of his meetings with Dr. Muhammad Roem both at Alexandria (during the Executive Board meeting of the 'Continuing Committee on Muslim-Christian Cooperation') and at the Semiramis Hotel, Cairo, during February, 1955.

functions. The Supreme Advisory Council acts like a kind of a 'Brains Trust' for the President.

During 1963, the second session of the Provisional *Majlis Permusjawaratan Rakjat* decided to appoint Dr. Sukarno President for life.

Nasakom, together with *Panja Sila*, *Gotong Royong* and other concepts, stands as a vital corner stone of Indonesia's body politic. Indonesian historians generally divide Indonesia's cultural history into four divisions:

1. The period of the ancient, magic-dominated culture, which lasted to approximately the birth of Christ;
2. The period of the Hindu and Buddhist influences, which began with the beginning of recorded history;
3. The period of Islamic influence, which began from the 13th. century; and
4. The period of the inroads of Western ideologies—from Liberalism to Communism—which began from the 16th. century.

On May 1, 1963, a very important event took place. It was the transfer of administration in West Irian (New Guinea) to the Republic of Indonesia. Thus, on this day, the authority of the Republic began *de jure* to cover the entire territory of Indonesia from Sabang (westernmost tip of Sumatra) to Merauke (the easternmost tip of West Irian).

A study of the contemporary Muslim political thought, as reflected in Indonesia, reveals its trend today in the efforts of the *Masjumi* (*Majlis Shura Muslimin Indonesia*) and the *Nahdatul 'Ulema* (literally, the Renaissance of the Learned)—the largest Muslim political parties—who have been trying to work out an Islamic form of Western democracy to be applied to Indonesia. Both the parties believe that, Islam is not separable from politics, so they endeavour to reconcile the authority of the Western type parliament with Revelation, as the main spring of law.

An abortive *coup* was staged in Indonesia on September 30, 1965, by the Communist party (P.K.I.), in which six generals were killed. Thereafter, the 'P.K.I.' was banned, and President Sukarno delegated his authority to the army chief, Gen. Suharto, in early March, 1966.

The present political set-up of Indonesia is not conducive to the fruition of Islamic ideals. The application of the Islamic ideology, therefore, is not conceivable there in a foreseeable future, unfortunately. There have been no less than five attempts on the life of President Sukarno in past years, who takes but little interest in the progress of Islam.

On July 5, 1966, the People's Congress of Indonesia at Jakarta stripped President Sukarno of the title of 'Life President.' He is expected to stay as the President of Indonesia till the next general elections only to be held in July, 1968. He is allowed to keep his title of 'the Great Leader of Revolution.' With the banning of Communism, 'confrontation' against Malaysia was terminated, and a treaty of peace and cooperation was signed between the two countries. Gen. A.H. Nasution is the Chairman of the Congress and Gen. Suharto is the executive head of the government.

In September, 1966, Indonesia signed with Pakistan an economic and cultural cooperation pact of the R.C.D. type (between Turkey, Iran and Pakistan). Indonesia re-entered the United Nations on September 19, the same year. Both the Indonesian Congress and the students condemned *Nasakom* and President Sukarno's other policies, and asked him to denounce P.K.I. and Marxism. The army is in full control of the country.

Chapter 18

THE ARABS

EUROPEAN cultural penetration in the Arab world was at first mainly religious, and came through the Christian minorities. The religious rivalries of the great powers for the profitable protection of holy places and Christian minorities was intensified in the 19th. century. It was in this period that the Arab nationalism was born. It was of mingled origin. To the old Arab dislike of Turks and the urgent mistrust of the encroaching and alien West were added the European idea of nationality and a revival of the Arabic language and culture.

The advance of a nationalist movement was accelerated by the coming of direct European control, at first on the periphery of the Arab world—the French in Algeria (1830) and the British in Aden (1839)—then in its very heart. In 1882, the British occupied Egypt, in the very centre of the Arab world. The occupation led to an intensive development of the nationalist movement in Egypt.

In Arabia, the Wahhabi movement burst into life again at the beginning of the 20th. century, when Abdul Aziz ibn Sa'ud began a process of expansion in the course of which the devoted Wahhabi warriors added most of Arabia to his Najdi patrimony. In 1932, he proclaimed the new kingdom of Sa'udi Arabia, with Wahhabism as its official creed. But, the main organised expression was henceforth political in the Western manner. In 1916, the British succeeded in organising an Arab revolt against Turkey in the Hijaz, and in return for immediate material aid and the promise of Arab independence after the war, Bedouin auxiliaries aided the British forces in the conquest of Syria.

The peace settlement betrayed the Arabs completely. New states were set up in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine, where Allied arms had ended Turkish rule. But, the coveted independence was denied to the Arabs, and British and French Mandates established instead. After Egypt and Iraq attained independence, the main anti-imperialist struggle centred on Syria-Lebanon and Palestine. In the latter, the situation was complicated by the establishment of 'Israel'. The second world war added Syria and Lebanon to the number of independent Arab states, and, in March 1945, the Arab League was constituted. In March 1946, the Jordan also became a sovereign state. Only Palestine and the British possessions in south Arabia remained under direct foreign rule.

The second world war brought other changes. A new alignment of great power rivalries has again filled the East with the clash of conflicting interests and ideologies. Once again, the Muslim world today stands face to face with an alien civilization that challenges many of its fundamental values and appeals to the Muslims seductively. The penetration of Western educational and Christian missionary enterprises into the Arab world is ranked high among the nefarious influences disrupting the modern Arab life. The American University of Beirut is one of the most accursed of these enterprises. There is also the equally harmful French Jesuit university, *l'Universite de St. Joseph*, also in Beirut. All of them have devoted attention to the disruption of Islamic life and values.

The Russian revolution of November, 1917, and Woodrow Wilson's slogan had an immense influence on the Arab world. What came out was a new gospel that, 'peoples should take their fate into their own hands.' That is one of the main ingredients of nationalism. Nationalism is primarily a secular movement. In 1919, the Soviets did everything to encourage it. Lenin declared that, "the way to destroy capitalism was by the union of the proletarian revolution in Russia with the nationalist revolutions of the East."

Major blame for the unsuccessful outcome of the Arab revolt, and the consequent retardation of the process of Arab unity must be laid at the doors of Britain and France, who parcelled out between them the Arab lands, reduced Syria to a number of petty states, and sponsored the Zionist scheme in Arab Palestine. The 'Fertile Crescent' project, worked out by Nuri Sa'id in 1942, envisaged a united Syria joined to Iraq in a union to which other Arab states might later adhere; but the plan was not favourably received. The plan was dropped, and, in its place, the Arab League came into being. The continuity of Syria's Arab policy was again brought out by Nazim al-Kudsi (then prime minister) in

his plan for Arab unity submitted to the Arab League's Political Committee in the winter of 1951. But, nothing came out of Kudsi's project.

In the Lebanon, a local product—Phoenicianism—sprouted. It was a counterpart of Egyptian Pharaonism. The Phoenician legend was created to counteract the trend towards Arab unity, but, as it was an artificial concept, it soon died out. It was succeeded by the 'Mediterranean Movement', which sought to identify Lebanon's culture with the civilization of the Mediterranean world in an attempt to draw Lebanon away from the Arab heritage, which the movement considered Asiatic. But, the culture of Lebanon is fundamentally Arab. A similar misleading 'Mediterranean Culture Movement' was sponsored by Egypt's Taha Husain, whose pre-Islamic Pharaonic leanings are well known.

Since the beginning of recorded time, Egypt's history has been interwoven with the countries of western Asia, with which her relations have been closer and more constant than with the adjoining African regions. Egypt has not only remained Arab, but, since the Mongol invasions in the middle of the 13th century, C.E. has been the custodian of Arab culture and the principal centre of Islamic learning. The 'Inter-Arab Security Pact,' presented by Egypt to the League, was originally intended to counter-balance Iraqi pressure for the achievement of the 'Fertile Crescent' unity, aimed at ousting Egypt from the Arab movement. The Pact was ratified and came into effect officially.

The Muslims are over 95 percent in the Arab world. As for the minorities, there are the Christian Copts (about 1½ million) in Egypt, as well as some other Christians (like the Maronites in the Lebanon) and the Jews. Among the cultural minorities in the Arab lands in Asia, the largest and most important groups are the Kurds (Sunnis) in Syria and in the northeast of Iraq (about 750,000), and the Berbers (Sunnis) in northwest Africa (Mauritania; Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia). Then, there are the Pagans and Christians in southern Sudan. Other, less important cultural minorities in Arab Asia are the Circassians in Syria and Jordan, and the Sunni Turkomans (about 50,000) in Iraq. There are also minorities, who differ from the majority with respect to both culture and religion, such as the Assyrians (30,000) in Iraq, and the Armenians in Syria and Lebanon (about 250,000).

There is a separatist tendency among the Kurds, who want their own state to include the Kurds of Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey. Besides Iraq, there are over 350,000 Kurds in Syria and Lebanon. Islam, in the Arab world, is divided into Sunni—the predominant rite—and a number

of minorities, of whom the largest is the Shi'ah of Iraq. In Syria and Lebanon, there is a larger variety of Muslim sects; besides Sunni and Shi'ah, there are Druzes, Alouites and Isma'ilis (i.e. Agakhanis), all of whom have sprung from the Shi'ah sect. The Yemenites belong also to another Shi'ah sect, known as the Zaidites.

As for the non-Muslim minorities, over 3½ million Christians and half-a million Jews live in the Arab countries; but the latter's number is much dwindled through their migration to 'Israel.' Zionism has introduced anti-Jewish feeling in Arab lands, which had so far been free from racial prejudice, and remarkably tolerant of religious differences.

The Arab lands, from the Persian Gulf Arab Shaikhdoms to Morocco on the Atlantic, occupy one of the most vital strategic regions on the face of the earth. North Africa, Egypt, and the Levant, flanking the Mediterranean on its southern and eastern shores, are the doorway to Asia and Africa, and a bridgehead between these two continents and Europe. The Powers that have been directly involved in this region are France, Britain and the United States of America. Both Soviet Russia and China, too, have been trying to get a foothold in the Arab countries.

The U.S.A. continues to support 'Israel' against the Arab world notwithstanding the repeated acts of Israeli aggression, her expansionist moves, and her utter disregard of the decisions of the United Nations. But for American financial and moral support, Israel would have collapsed long ago. American pressure is also believed to be behind the decision of the West German government to indemnify 'Israel' for the damage inflicted upon Jewish life and property under Hitler, and very recently, to recognize and arm her, obviously to the bitter resentment of the Arabs; where-upon most of the Arab countries have cut off their diplomatic relations with West Germany.

Now, both Russia and China are trying to push towards the south—the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. They are particularly interested in this area because of oil in the Muslim Middle East, whose resources (as estimated in 1966) constitute 55.50 percent of the world's known oil reserves.

The main purpose of the three Western Powers—the U.S.A., Britain and France—has been to keep both Russia and China out of this area. The Arabs, however, are now vigilant and united enough not to allow themselves anymore to fall into another foreign political snare. That is why, they rejected the so-called 'Three Power Declaration' of the U.S.A.,

Britain and France, issued in May, 1950, in London, to safeguard the area, as well as 'the Middle East Defence Plan' of 1951. However Communist ideology might be opposed to the essence of the Arab heritage, the Communist States of Soviet Russia and China are not the bogeys that the Western powers think they are or should be to the Arabs. The danger of Communist domination, however imminent, does not reconcile the Arabs to Western domination, which is actual. Besides, Russia and China are nowhere in the Arab world to exploit it. Whatever danger lurks behind Communism, the immediate and by far the most ominous danger to the Arabs lies in the presence of 'Israel'—the creation of Britain and the U.S.A.

Arab leadership, during the past half-a-century, has been defective; Arab leaders have shared with foreign imperialism the blame for the ills which afflict the Arab society. Moreover, religious leadership has been ineffective; religion was losing its hold as a force in people's lives, and religious leaders had no message convincing and relevant to the issues of the time. The effect of this bewilderment and confusion told most upon the Muslim youth everywhere. The only noteworthy religious Islamic movement, that of *Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun* (the Muslim Brothers), failed miserably partly because of the haste with which the *Ikhwan* wanted to assume power and control of the states, in which they operated, and partly because their concept of a theocratic state did not find wide acceptance even in the Muslim religious circles.

However, it is heartening that, now, genuine native leadership of a high calibre is at work in the Arab countries, building up their inner strength. Arab society has reached the stage, where it is rediscovering its own values and is sinking its roots deeper into its native heritage. The Arab movement for liberty, unity, and the recreation of society is on the march and cannot be arrested from outside.

It is not likely that a foreign ideology can be imposed anymore on the Arabs against their will. Unfortunately, the Arabs seem to be more concerned for their own integrity, progress, solidarity and unity than of Islam and the Muslims in general. Islam, however, nullifies racial and national prejudices, replacing them by its all-pervasive internationalism, but the Arabs of today are endeavouring to revert to the un-Islamic nationalism of their particular race. This attitude militates against the universal Islamic brotherhood, the establishment of which alone can bring salvation to the Arabs.

Even with the Arab unity and solidarity, there is something seriously wrong. The scheduled September, 1966, meeting of the Arab Chiefs of State was not held owing to the boycott of the U.A.R., supported by Syria and also by Iraq. There is still over 50,000-man Egyptian force stationed along Yemen's frontier with Saudi Arabia. President Gamal Abdel Nasser bitterly opposed and attacked King Faisal's plan for an Islamic gathering in Saudi Arabia at the time of the *Hajj* in 1967, approved by the Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, Kuwait and the Lebanon. President Habib Bourquiba of Tunisia, complaining against President Nasser's high-handedness, withdrew from the Arab League, Cairo, in 1965. In this state of affairs, the Soviet Union has assiduously promoted the polarization of the Arab world during 1966, but, which the United States, with careful diplomacy, has been trying to avoid. Meanwhile, through the folly and the selfishness of the Arabs, 'Israel' continues to grow stronger with the active help of the U.S.A., Britain, France, Portugal, West Germany and India.

If the Arab States do not unite, they are going to be destroyed as political units. Surely, there is enough intelligence in these States to see that some collective plan must be worked out, if the Arab world is to survive. The forces of greed are increasing on the earth, and any small state could be gobbled up. If the Arab States are not to be wiped off the face of the earth, they must awake to the thought of the Muslim unity. It is this or dissolution. Today Islam, politically speaking, consists only of fragments. But that was true of Germany, Britain, the U.S.A., and Russia, also. For the separate States of North Africa and nearby Asia, there is only one alternative to disaster—Unity. Islam, as One Nation, not many, is no idle dream. What Christian or pagan peoples have done can surely be performed by the people also who believed in the universal brotherhood of man under One God.

(A)

ARABS IN ASIA

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(1)

SAUDI ARABIA

ARABIA is the original home of the Semitic people. The Minaean kingdom existed in the *jauf* of Yemen from 1200 to 650 B. C. Parallel with this, the Sabeen kingdom flourished, with its first capital at Sirwah (Kharibah). The second Sabeen period began approximately in 650 B. C., with its capital at Ma'arib. This dynasty was succeeded by the Himyarites. Early in the 6th century C.E., the dynasty of the Jafnids was established in Arabia. The *bedouins* are the aborigines of Arabia. No accurate census of them has ever been made, but their total number is estimated to be about ten million. They are scattered throughout the Arab world from the Atlas mountains in Morocco to the desert of *Ruba' al-Khali* in southern Arabia. The *bedou* tribes of the latter are the original Arabs. The populations of the modern Arab states are the result of a mingling of indigenous inhabitants with successive waves of *bedouin* immigrants from the deserts. The traditional Arab characteristics of courage, hospitality, and loyalty to family and friends are legacies from the *bedou*. The majority of the Arab *bedouins* is Muslim, but there are a few Christian Arab tribes, too, mostly in Jordan.

There are about $3\frac{1}{2}$ million Christians, most of them Arabic-speaking, in the Arab world; about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million of them are the Copts of Egypt; the remaining belong to the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and other Eastern Churches, though there are small groups of Protestant and Presbyterian sects as well. In the Lebanon are over half a million Maronites and some Armenians. There are Christians in Syria, Iraq, Jordan and the Sudan, also. The majority of them forms an integral

part of the Arab population; they have united with the Muslim Arabs, especially in Palestine, in the Arab movement.

Islam was introduced in Arabia by Hadrat Muhammad, the great Prophet of Islam (570 - 632 C.E.), from 610 onwards till his death in 632 C.E. He was born in Mecca, and is buried in Medina. His early successors enlarged the Medina Empire of the Arabs and spread Islam far and wide. Power in Arabia changed hands very frequently from the Umayyads to the Abbasids; in 1229 C.E., Mecca was governed by an Emir elected by Egypt. In 1517, the Ottoman Turkish Sultan conquered Hijaz. In the early part of the 18th century, a new epoch of Arabian history began with the rise of the Wahhabi movement.

Saudi Arabia (Area: about a million square miles; population's 1966 estimate: approximately eight million) is the birthplace and cradle of the great religion of Islam. The pan-Arab movement strove for an all-Arab state or federation. Its centre was in Syria—the cradle of the modern Arab nationalism. It concurred with pan-Islamism, but was founded not on the religious but on the national feelings. However, it has been hampered by the strong tribal and regional feelings of the Arabs and by the rivalries of the various Arab states and their rulers. The ultimate aim of pan-Arabists is an Arab federation, stretching from Morocco to the Arab Shaikhdoms on the Persian Gulf. Local modern Arab nationalisms have, however, been serious obstacles in its way. Moreover, the interested Western powers combat pan-Arabism as far as it emerges in their spheres of influence and seek to slacken its progress mainly by fostering rivalries among the Arab states.

The movement of pan-Islamism strove for close political co-operation among Muslim countries—Arab and non-Arab. There had been a fruitless pan-Islamic movement under Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey, which was propagated by Sayyid Jamaluddin 'Afghani'. The 'Pact of Saadabad', in 1937, among Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, was the first practical step towards the general Islamic unity; and the recent 'Regional Co-operation for Development', among Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, can be a nucleus of a pan-Islamic bloc of nations, which has always been the dream of Muslim intellectuals throughout the Muslim world. King Faisal is, at the moment, the greatest exponent of pan-Islamism.

Muhammad ibn Wahhab was born in Nejd in 1691, and was educated in the old orthodox style. He started to preach the true principles of pristine Islam and to reform the degenerated Muslim society.

His teachings met with acceptance, but he became unpopular owing to his extreme views, and was compelled to seek refuge with Muhammad ibn Sa'ud, then already a chief with considerable influence. This protection of the religious leader within the family of the Sa'uds led to the foundation of the powerful Wahhabi dynasty. Muhammad ibn Sa'ud married the daughter of 'Abdul Wahhab, and their son, Abdul Aziz, upon the death of his father, in 1765, led a Wahhabi army to the farthermost corners of Arabia.

The great military leader of the Wahhabi movement was Sa'ud, the eldest son of Abdul Aziz, who gained victories over Sulaiman Pasha, and destroyed the town of Kerbela. In 1803, Sa'ud entered Mecca, and then conquered Medina, too. Only through great military exertions could the Turks dislodge the Wahhabi movement, in 1813, from the Hijaz. In 1814, on the death of Sa'ud, Abdullah became the leader of the Wahhabis. He was defeated and captured by Ibrahim Pasha, and executed at Constantinople in 1818. 'Abdullah was succeeded, in 1830, by Faisal, who established the Wahhabi rule in eastern Arabia, with Riyadh as the capital of his kingdom. Faisal died in 1866, and was succeeded by 'Abdullah. However, it was under king 'Abdul Aziz ibn 'Abdul Rahman al-Faisal al-Sa'ud that the Saudi dynasty and Wahhabism once more became a driving political and religious power in Arabia.

'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Sa'ud of Nejd did not recognize Sharif Husain's claim to suzerainty in Arabia. In May, 1919, he attacked Hijaz, and won a decisive victory at Turabah, east of Ta'if. Sharif Husain's claim to the caliphate gave Ibn Sa'ud a pretext to combat him as a heretic, and when he (Husain) turned for aid against Ibn Sa'ud to the British, they simply abandoned him. In December, 1924, Ibn Sa'ud occupied Mecca. Ibn Sa'ud proclaimed himself King of the Hijaz in January, 1926. Sharif Husain died in Amman in June, 1931, and was buried in Jerusalem. In 1930, Ibn Sa'ud had himself crowned in Mecca as King of Nejd and the Hijaz.

Meanwhile, Imam Yahya had entered into relations with Italy, which hoped to make secure its colony of Eritrea (in East Africa) from the opposite coast, and had long since seized an economic foothold in Yemen. In September, 1926, he concluded a treaty of friendship with Italy. Thus emboldened, the Imam tried to expand his territory at first in the hinterland of Aden at the expense of the British protectorate; but the latter contained his expansionist ambitions, particularly when Ibn Sa'ud also threatened to take action against him. On the question

of 'Asir, Ibn Sa'ud was forced to take energetic action at the beginning of 1934. But, Ibn Sa'ud contented himself, in the peace treaty concluded at Ta'if in May, 1934, with the recognition of his boundaries, and waived any territorial demands.

The most significant development in the recent history of Arabia was the rise of Ibn Sa'ud, and the consolidation of the greater part of the Arab island in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Ibn Sa'ud, Lord of Arabia and one of the most remarkable figures of modern Arab history, negotiated a series of treaties effecting conciliation with former enemies, replacing the older rivalries by friendly relations. The present king of Saudi Arabia is Faisal bin Ibn Sa'ud, the latter's second son, who, in 1965, deposed his elder brother, former King Sa'ud. King Faisal is making energetic efforts for the unity of the Muslim world against Jamal Nasser's insulated and narrow 'Arabism'.

Justice, throughout the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, is administered by the Islamic (*Shari'ah*) law; sentences in the kingdom are given according to the Quran and the *Sunnah*.

The recent history of Saudi Arabia is the story of her prosperity through oil. Oil economists indicate that total new oil reserves discovered in the Persian Gulf area exceed 150,000 million barrels of oil. About one-third of this oil wealth lies within the area of Saudi Arabian kingdom. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia has become the world's 4th largest oil producing country, and has been able to earn an unexpectedly large income of about £ 25,000 a day. The Saudi Arabian oil concession is to run for 66 years from 1933. The port of Dhahran, near Dammam oilfield, is the site of the largest American settlement between Paris and Manila.

(2)

IRAQ

THE people of Iraq (area : 116,000 square miles; 1966 estimate of population : approximately 6½ million) are a blend of the old Indo-European and Semitic stocks. The inhabitants of Iraq can be divided roughly into four main groups : Arabs : 57%; Kurds 20%; Iranians : 3%; and Turks : 2%. The Kurds live in the mountainous regions in the north-east of Iraq. They are Sunni Muslims and their women are unveiled.

The land of the Kurds is an area extending from the mountains of south-east Turkey, crescent-wise, across northern Syria, northern Iraq and northern Iran. The Kurds are an ancient people, who formerly inhabited the anti-Taurus mountains. In the Middle Ages, they combined under their great leader, Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi, to form an empire, with Aleppo as their centre. The Kurds have revolted many a time against the Iraqi government under the leadership of Shaikh Ahmad and Mulla Mustafa Barzani—the latter was responsible for the 1965-66 Kurdish troubles in Iran and Iraq. The Kurds number about five million, of whom about 2½ million are in Turkey; 1½ million in Iraq; about 750,000 in Iran; and the rest about half-a-million in Syria.

The majority of the Iraqi Muslims is Shi'ah; the ratio of Shi'ah-Sunni population being 60:40, respectively. About 50,000 Yazidis, and a smaller number of Sunni Turkomans, Sabeans (40,000), Shebeks, Chaldeans (160,000), Christians, Jews, and Lurs make up the rest of the Iraqi population. The Yazidis, in the hills north of Mosul, have their own religion, centred around the propitiation of the principle of evil; they are often erroneously called 'devil-worshippers'.

With the first known relics of civilized life in Iraq, we find a culture, which dates from at least the fifth millennium B.C. Containing a Semitic element within it, including the Semitic language, this early civilization was predominantly Sumerian. The subsequent history of Iraq falls into three main epochs, each with its sub-periods. The first epoch continued until 539 B.C. under variations of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires. The second, subsequent to 539 B.C., is the history of the domination of Iraq by successive foreign empires. The third epoch opens with the liberation and autonomy of Iraq in the present century.

The vast upheaval of the first world war (1914-18) released Iraq from the yoke of Turkey, but unfortunately, she came again under the political aegis of Britain in the garb of a League of Nations' mandate. However, in 1920, Iraq rose in revolt against the mandatory power—Britain—acting on the words of one of her national leaders of the Arab revolt, Ja'far Pasha (d. 1936), who said that "complete independence is never given; it is always taken." Faisal, a scion of the Hashimite Hijazi dynasty, was chosen as the first king of Iraq, and reigned for twelve difficult years with great success. In 1932, by a succession of treaties, a treaty-relationship was substituted for her previous protectorate by Britain.

After king Faisal I, his youthful son, Ghazi, became the king of Iraq in 1933. In February, 1939, king Ghazi was killed in a motor-car accident, and was succeeded by his infant son, king Faisal II, under the regency of Emir 'Abdul Ilah. However, both the latter were brutally murdered by a military *coup* under Brigadier 'Abdul Karim; the latter, himself, was killed in a counter military *coup* under his deputy, General 'Abdul Salam 'Arif, the next President of Iraq.

Iraq had led a sort of a separate existence within the Ottoman Empire for centuries. The Shi'ites settled around the holy cities of Najaf, Kerbela and Kazimain were constantly in close touch with their fellow-believers in Iran, and it was only with reluctance that they considered themselves subjects of the heretical Ottoman Sultan. Thus, the conditions for the development of Arab national feeling were far more unfavourable in Iraq than in Syria.

As regards the progressively deteriorating relations between Iraq and Britain, it was solely due to a sense of frustration prevalent in the Arab world as a result of the policy followed by the Western democracies toward the Arabs. Palestine was the paramount issue. Official and public opinion in Iraq was united and strongly articulate with regard to the injustices inflicted upon Palestine as a result of the British mandate. More

than any other issue, and even more than all the wrongs together perpetrated by Western imperialist powers in the Arab world, the fate of Palestine shook the Arab faith in Western democracies and alienated the Arabs from co-operation with the West.

In 1963, the United Arab Republic (Egypt) and Iraq decided to unite their countries as a forerunner of a greater united Arabdom, with the prospect of joining later by Algeria, and possibly Yemen. But, Algeria became out of question, when an army *coup* there ousted Ahmad ben Bella in June, 1965. The U.A.R. and Iraq have had the same flags since April, 1963, and since May, 1965, they also had common national anthem and emblems. Field-Marshal 'Abdus-Salam 'Aref, the President of Iraq, was killed in April, 1966, in an air crash near Basra. He had become President in February, 1963, after he got Gen. 'Abdel Karim Kassim killed in a camp by his men in the Iraqi army. Gen. Kassim had come to power in 1958 with the help of Marshal 'Aref. Gen. Abdel Rahman 'Aref, brother of Marshal 'Aref, is now Iraq's present President.

In September, 1965, an abortive *coup* was staged, and the traitors had found asylum in Egypt. Again, in July, 1966, the rebel leader, Brigadier Abdul Razzaq, attempted another abortive *coup* against the present regime. In August, 1966, the government had an abrupt change giving way to a pro-Nasserite cabinet, under Gen. Naji Taleb.

(3)

SYRIA

THE area of Syria is approximately 58,000 square miles, and the estimated (1966) population is over 5½ million. The nomad *bedouin* tribes in Syria are about half-a-million. The majority of the inhabitants is Sunni Muslim. Syria also contains some Jews, Shi'ahs, Druzes, 'Alawis, Isma'ilis, Christians, Yazidis, Baha'is and Qadianis.

In 634 C.E., the Muslim Arabs defeated the Byzantine army and, about 645 C.E., the whole of Syria and Palestine came under the Arab domination. Under the Umayyads, great prosperity was brought to the country. After the Umayyads, Syria never again became the centre of the Muslim world. Under the Abbasids, Syria accepted Islam and the Arabic language universally. The reign of the Abbasids was especially marked for the virtual disappearance of the Greek and Roman civilizations from Syria. New Islamic sects developed in and after the 9th. century C.E., to name only the 'Alawis, the Druzes and the Isma'ili movements.

At the outbreak of world war 1, Syria was full of political unrest and national aspirations. She was the home of many Arab secret societies, whose members were in constant touch with the Arab nationalists throughout the Arabic-speaking world. Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner in Egypt, in 1915, bluffed Sharif Husain of Mecca and gave false promises to the Arabs. On May 16, 1916, a secret agreement, known as the 'Sykes—Picot Agreement' was concluded between the British, the French and the Russian governments, which provided for the division of the Ottoman empire into a number of zones. In June, on the direction of 'the Lawrence of Arabia' (T. E. Shaw), Sharif Husain and his sons started the Arab revolt against the Turks.

In October, 1918, Damascus was occupied by the forces of General Allenby. With the end of the war, the former Arab parts of the Turkish empire were freed from the Ottoman rule. In January, 1919, the Peace Conference decided that, the newly-conceived 'mandate systems' should be applied to the Arab provinces. The San Remo Conference (1920) gave the mandate of Syria and Lebanon to France, and that of Palestine and Iraq to Britain. Amir Faisal left Syria for Iraq. The British had completely betrayed the Arabs.

On September 28, 1941, the independence of Syria; and on November 26, the same year, the independence of the Lebanon, were officially proclaimed.

The legal system of the Republic of Syria is based partly upon the French and partly upon the old Syrian system. Colonel Husni Za'im, Commander-in-Chief of the Syrian army, proclaimed himself at Damascus in March, 1949, the dictator, and set up a military regime. The military *coup* was supported by the *Sha'ab* (Popular) and *Ba'ath* (Resurrection) parties. President Husni Za'im and Premier Mohsin Barazi were executed in August, the same year, by the leader of a counter-revolution, Colonel Sami Hinnawi. In December, the same year, the Syrian army, led by Colonel Adib Shishakli, arrested Sami Hannawi, thus effecting the third military *coup d'etat* in Syria within nine months. Hashim Atassi Pasha was elected new President of the Syrian Republic.

The constitution drafted by the constituent assembly and promulgated in September, 1950, was in line with the progressive trend current since the overthrow of the Quatli regime. While the constitution was being drafted, there was disagreement on the inclusion of a statement about the religion of the State. A compromise was reached by re-introducing the clause—present in the 1930 constitution—on Islam being the religion of the President of the Republic; and by inserting a statement about adherence to the ideals of Islam—the religion of the majority of the people; about building the new State on a firm moral basis in accordance with the principles of Islam and the other revealed religions; and about combating atheism and moral disintegration. The Syrian constitution was the first Arab constitution drafted and promulgated under a fully independent regime. It expressed the new trend in Arab nationalism—emphasis upon social and economic reforms.

After the promulgation of the constitution, the assembly was transformed into a parliament where the *Sha'ab* (People's Party) had a majority. For a time, a semblance of cooperation between the *Sha'ab* and the army was maintained. The army continued to wield the real authority behind a

facade of constitutional government, as it had done since March, 1949. But mutual suspicion led the military leaders to assume the form as well as the substance of rule. The break came in December, 1951. President Atassi resigned and General Silo became the Head of the State. Parliament was dissolved and the constitution suspended. In late fifties, Syria united with Egypt in a 'United Arab Republic' only to break with it in early sixties, when the relations between the two countries were cut off. But, in the mid-sixties, now, while Iraq is replacing Syria in the same United Arab Republic (with Egypt), the relations of Syria have again been normalized with both Egypt and Iraq.

While in Saudi Arabia the Wahhabi pattern of Islam seeks to purify it by reforming the religious life of the Muslims in an endeavour to bring it back on the model of the pristine Islam, both Iraqi and Syrian religious lives have been under the severe strain and stress of the libertinism of Western civilization; though, to all intents and purposes, Syrian Islam is trying to practise Islamic ideology at its best.

A military *coup*, on February 23, 1966, toppled the Baathist government of President Amin al-Hafez; Gen. Hafez had come to power in a Baathist rebellion in March, 1963. The leader of the February, 1966, *coup* was Gen. Salah Jedid. Dr. Nureddin al-Atassi was chosen to be the new Head of State and Dr. Youssef Zeayen, the new Premier. The present regime in Syria is of the 'Neo-Baathists', with pro-Nasserite leanings. The continued political instability in both Iraq and Syria is a matter of grave concern to the entire Muslim world.

(4)

LEBANON

THE Lebanese Christians claim that, the present-day Lebanese are the direct descendants and cultural heirs of the ancient Phoenicians, who inhabited this area, as well as heirs of all the accumulated cultural heritage of the Greeks, the Romans and the Byzantines. The Phoenicians were the Canaanites under a greek name. Both as Canaanites and as Phoenicians, these north-western Semitic people inhabited cities scattered along the Mediterranean littoral and on the plains between the north-south mountain range and the coast. The Phoenicians actually inhabited the coast, and their culture developed in the coastal cities and in the towns along the Jordan in Palestine and along the Orontes and upper Euphrates in Syria. The evidence of history, however, makes it extremely difficult to link the Lebanon with the Phoenicians, either racially or culturally.

For the sake of convenience, the Islamic period had better be divided into three phases: (1) from 750 to 1100 C.E.; (2) from 1100 to 1516; and (3) from 1516 to the end of the first world war. (1) In the period of translation, when the bulk of the Greek cultural lore was transmitted to Arabic, the records reveal no Lebanese translator except Qusta ibn Luqa al-Ba'albeki. (2) Following the period of translation, when the Arabs reached intellectual maturity, none of the luminaries of the first order in the intellectual firmament of the Arab world hailed from Lebanon. However, a distinguished Muslim theologian and jurist, who was born in Ba'albek, and flourished in Beirut, where he died in 774 C.E., was al-Awza'i. The legal system, for which he was responsible, however, was finally replaced by the Hanafite and Shafi'ite systems in Syria and by the Malikite in North Africa and Muslim Spain.

The most significant outcome of the whole unfortunate episode of the Crusades in the West was more in the nature of a by-product—the initiation of Christian missionary work among the Muslims and the introduction of Oriental, and more specifically Arabic, studies in European and American universities, both closely linked with the name of Raymond Lull (d. 1314 C.E.), who hoped that “the pen would succeed where the sword had failed.” In the East, the most significant outcome of the Crusades was the sharpening of the Muslim-Christian cleavage. The writings of al-Busiri (d. 1296 C.E.), ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah (d. 1350 C.E.), and the great ibn-Taimiyah (d. 1328 C.E.), himself a Syrian, offer an insight into the spirit of the age.

The Ma'nid Fakhr al-Din II (1590—1635) allied himself with the Medici court of Florence. The reforms of Fakhr al-Din were far-reaching, and his hospitality to foreign ideas and men brought to the Lebanon the Jesuits, the Carmelites, the Capuchins, the Lazarites, and other Catholic orders. The influence of the Christian Maronite school at Rome (1584, founded by Pope Gregory XIII) was more widespread and lasting.

The Arab world attracted the attention of the Christian missionaries, “who sought to accomplish by the *word* that their earlier forebears, the Crusaders, had failed to achieve by the sword, namely, the conquest of the birthplace of Christianity and, indeed, of the world for Christ.” It is very difficult to determine the causes, which led to this revived interest in Christian missionary activity, but, perhaps, the religious revival, which swept England during the latter part of the 18th. century, and the parallel movement in the United States, which blossomed in the so-called ‘New England spirit’, had something to do with it.

The opening years of the 19th. century saw the appearance, mushroomlike, of many Christian missionary societies, dedicated to carrying the gospel to all mankind. Increased interest in the domain of the then “sick man of Europe” (Turkey) may have been another factor, and had something to do with the choice of the Muslim East as a field of missionary activity commanding top priority.

The Arab awakening in the 19th. century was, to a large extent, the result of the bitter Catholic-Protestant rivalry between the foreign Christian missionaries and their institutions in the Lebanon. The tolerant rule of Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt enabled these Christian missionaries in the Lebanon to make an organised start. The Maronite-Druze civil war, in 1860, brought about European intervention and resulted in a special status for the Lebanon, at the expense, of course, of the Muslim popula-

tion of the country. Lebanese independence was proclaimed by General Catroux in June, 1941.

Since the achievement of independence, the Arab aspect of the Lebanon has been emphasized. In the field of international relations, the Lebanon has rendered distinguished service in the compilation of the Charter of Human Rights.

Communal differences are the most serious problem in the Lebanon. The population is unevenly divided between the Muslims and Christians (Each of them claims majority for themselves, but the Muslims seem to be more than Christians in the Lebanon). The independent regime was established on the basis of a compromise—the National Pact of 1943—between the religious communities.

Sectarianism, which plagues the public life and is at the root of much of the evil in the administration, is under persistent attack by the press and all the liberal elements in the country, who warn of the shaky structure of a state built upon a conglomeration of religious blocs. “The conduct of government, which, under the mandate, left much to be desired, did not improve with independence. In the public mind, the State had become the private estate of the President and his crowd. Parliamentary government was a mere facade for autocratic rule.”

The area of the Lebanon is 3,800 square miles, and its estimated (1966) population is approximately 1,700,000. There are Sunnis (500,000), Shi'ahs (350,000), Druzes (93,000), Maronite Christians (750,000) and Jews (2,000) — Total = 1,700,000.

Lebanese Christians look more towards the Christian West than towards their Arab Muslim neighbours. Nevertheless, the Lebanon, as one of the most advanced centres of the Arab world, has played a leading part in the Arab renaissance and the political liberation movement.

The seats in the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies are so divided that the majority of them goes to the Christians against the Muslims who, the Lebanese Muslims claim, are in actual majority; but no census has ever been held, and the Christian majority is arbitrary and fictitious. The Lebanon has no State religion. All Lebanese are equal in the eyes of law.

The Lebanese President, who is elected for six years, has extensive executive powers. Lebanon has the biggest literacy rate (about 85 percent) of any Arab country. According to the Lebanese constitution, the President of the Republic must be a Christian, the Prime Minister a Sunni

Muslim, and the Speaker of the Assembly a Shi'ah. Lebanon is a member both of the Arab League and the United Nations.

Lebanese Muslims are second to none in their zeal and enthusiasm for the solidarity and glory of Islam. But, in the Western-dominated atmosphere and owing to the preponderance and influence of Maronite Christians, there is the least chance of the application of Islamic ideology in the Lebanon.

(5)

JORDAN

THE area of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan is about 34,740 square miles, and the 1966 population estimate is over 1,400,000 (both Jordan proper and Jordanian Palestine combined). The official religion of Jordan is Islam, and the majority of the inhabitants is Sunni Muslim. Jordan is the only Arab country, which has Christian nomads among its population.

Under Islam, Jordan came within the orbit of the empire of the Umayyads, who made the country their actual residence, and built many castles and palaces there. Jordan remained, after the Umayyads, under the rule of the Abbasids and the Fatimids, respectively. In the 11th century C. E., the Jordanian Arabs resisted the onslaughts of the Crusaders valiantly, who were eventually driven out by Sultan Saladin the Great. In the 13th. century, the Mamluks, and in the 16th. the Turks overran the country. In the 19th. century, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha of Egypt captured Jordan and Syria.

On June 10, 1916, the Arab revolt began against the Ottoman Turks, and the Arab troops of the Hijaz attacked the Turkish garrison in Jordan. At the end of the war, Jordan was occupied by the Allied forces. In 1920, the Conference of San Remo entrusted the mandate of Palestine to Britain. On March 2, 1921, Amir 'Abdullah was invited to come to Amman, where he was made Amir of Transjordan. In September, 1922, a Memorandum by Britain declared the exclusion of Jordan from the article of the mandate, relative to the establishment of a Jewish 'National Home' in Palestine. The excellent Transjordanian force, called the 'Arab Legion', checked the Wahhabi invasion in August, 1924. The Ma'an

district, including Aqaba (a former part of the Hijaz), was annexed by Jordan in 1925. On February 20, 1928, a treaty was concluded between Britain and Amir Abdullah in London, which divested Amir Abdullah of all real power. This treaty resulted in the enactment of the 'Organic Law'.

There could be no question, under the British administration, of the development of any political life in Transjordan. The economic life of the country was particularly disturbed by the attempts of the Zionists to purchase or lease land for Jewish settlers. In 1933, Amir Abdullah, himself, leased to the Jews 65,000 *dunams* (one *dunam* equals 900 square meters) in the *Ghor al-Kabid*, for 99 years, for 20,000 Palestinian pounds. A law was, however, passed in April, 1933, by the 'People's Representation', which prohibited any sale or lease of land to the Zionists or to any alien.

At the outbreak of world war II, Jordan rallied to the cause of the Allies and placed the 'Arab Legion' at the disposal of Britain. On May 25, 1946, Amir 'Abdullah was proclaimed king of Transjordan. A treaty of alliance between the United Kingdom and the kingdom of Transjordan, whereby Transjordan was recognised as a fully independent state, was signed in London on March 22, 1946. Attempts to secure Jordan's admission to the United Nations failed owing to the Soviet Russian opposition. Jordan, however, is a member of the Arab League. King 'Abdullah participated in the war against the Zionists for Palestine (1948). Israeli-Jordan armistice talks ended on March 31, 1949, at Rhodes.

The early history of Transjordan revolved around King 'Abdullah (its first ruler), the British Resident (the real ruler) and Glubb Pasha, commander of the Arab Legion. On the question of Palestine, 'Abdullah was in agreement with the British. He had accepted the first partition plan put forth by the Peel Commission in 1937, which had proposed the annexation of Arab Palestine to Transjordan. In the Palestine conflict, he kept in touch with Zionist leaders by correspondence and clandestine meetings. His Arab Legion participated in the fighting to the extent that Glubb Pasha allowed. After the cessation of hostilities, his government ceded to Israel part of the valuable area, known as the 'Arab Triangle'—around Nablus, Tulkarm and Janin, where no Jews lived. On the subject of the internationalization of Jerusalem, 'Abdullah opposed the unanimous opinion of the Arab states and asked for the partition of the city between Arabs and Jews, his stand being in accord with Israel's demand, and with the view of Britain and the United States. The Greater Syria scheme

failed to command public support because it was involved in the personal ambitions of king 'Abdullah—an autocratic ruler and a tool in the hands of Britain. Kermit Roosevelt (in his *The Arabs, Oil and History*, London, 1949) called him "the Scarlet Pimpernel of the Arab World." King 'Abdullah's death, as later the removal of Farouq of Egypt, eliminated some of the causes of dissent among the Arab states.

The Hashimite kingdom of the Jordan is an hereditary monarchy. The king is not responsible to anyone. The legislative power is embodied in the parliament and the king. The term of office for the House of Representatives is four years. The king appoints the members to the House of Notables, whose term of office is eight years. The present head of the state is His Majesty King Husain ibn 'Abdullah ibn Husain. After a brief period of disagreement of Jordan with some Arab countries, notably Egypt—during which Glubb Pasha was ignominiously dismissed and thrown out of the country—Jordan is now, happily, on excellent relations with her Arab neighbours and all the other Muslim countries. Jordanian and Palestinian Arabs are excellent Muslims eager to implement the ideology of Islam and to bring about the Islamic resurgence.

Amman is the capital of the country, while the Muslim part of Jerusalem is within Jordan.

YEMEN

DURING the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Hisham early in the 8th century C.E., a great grandson of 'Ali, by the name of Zaid ibn 'Ali, asserted his family's claim to the Caliphate in Kufah (Iraq). Although the revolt was suppressed, after the 'Alid had been killed in street fighting, this was only the first of a long series of successive Shi'ite movements, which led to the fall of the Umayyad power. In the 9th century C.E., descendants of this same Zaid founded a state in Yemen, which outlasted the tempests of centuries as the sole surviving 'Alid state.

In this remotest province of the Abbasid empire, Islam had been unable to transform social and political conditions in a thoroughgoing way. As in the time of the Sabaeans and the Himyarites, the aristocratic rulers remained in their fortresses and ruled uncontested in their sphere by the caliph's governors in San'a, if only they delivered their tribute with a fair degree of regularity. From his residence in Zabid, Muhammad, 'the Umayyad', and his descendants were able to maintain their power in the country for 150 years. The 'Alids took a hand in the involved circumstances. Ambassadors of the Qarmatians also appeared in the outlying mountain country, but were unable to maintain their position for any length of time, even though they continued their religious-political propaganda.

A descendant of Zaid ibn 'Ali, Yahya ibn al-Husain (d. 911 C.E.) succeeded in creating a position for his house here, which survived the buffetings of many centuries till recently, and, even at present, still constitutes a potent element in Arabian history. He had given rise to the hope that, because of his erudition and piety, he might, as *imam*, restore the

lustre of their house. On March 16, 897 C.E., he appeared, with only 50 men, before the gates of Sa'dah, the principal resort on the pilgrims' highway between Mecca and San'a. From here, he sent out, as the *imam al-Hadi* (the righteous guide), a summons to obedience to the House of the Prophet. Al-Hadi won a steadily growing following as arbiter between Muslims and Christians in the old bishopric of Najran, and later among the *bedouins* of the region. But his power remained limited to Sa'dah and the neighbourhood, since the Qarmatians in the south of the country contested his rule there.

Yemen has been much more isolated than its neighbour, Saudi Arabia. This isolation was due primarily to the character of its late ruler, Imam Yahya, who was suspicious of all outside influence. He was especially suspicious of the British, his neighbours in Aden and the South Arabian Protectorates, and feared their designs on Yemen. During his long reign, the Imam succeeded in keeping Yemen from falling under any form of foreign control. In doing so, he also succeeded in keeping away any form of modern civilization from the country.

Yemen has been so isolated even from the rest of the Arab countries that, when the Imam was killed in January, 1948, and a new ruler and government were proclaimed, most people were at a loss to explain this unexpected event. Few realized how unbearable the overthrown regime had become to those Yemenites, who had some knowledge of the outside world, and how crushing upon the mass of the people. The attempt to change the regime by force had then failed partly because the assassination of the aged Imam shocked Arab opinion in Yemen and outside it, and partly because those who were responsible for the conduct of affairs mishandled the situation.

The area of Yemen is about 75,000 square miles, and the estimated (1966) population is approximately six million. Its capital, San'a, is situated on an altitude of 7,260 feet. To the south of *al-Jauf* is the district of Ma'arib (or Saba). Yemen is now an independent Arab republic in the south-west corner of the Arabian peninsula. The sandy coastal plain of the Tihama has the ports of Hudeida and Mocha. The people of the coast are Shafa'i Sunnis, who never accepted the religious leadership of the former ruling Shi'ah Imam.

Conditions in Yemen were unsettled since the murder of Imam Yahya in 1948. A four-week civil war had broken out in Yemen early in 1948 after the 80-year old Imam Yahya and two of his nine sons were

assassinated; immediately after this, a rival chieftain, 'Abdullah al-Wazir, proclaimed himself king. Amir Saif al-Islam Ahmad (the eldest son of the ex-Imam) roused his armies and marched on the walled capital of San'a, which he captured. 'Abdullah al-Wazir was hanged.

The Zaidi Imam Saif al-Islam Ahmad bin Yahya was dethroned and killed by a republican army revolt by General al-Sallal in late '50s, when Prince al-Badar replaced his brother as the king of Yemen. But the republican troops succeeded in ousting him from the country, aided by the Egyptian forces, whereupon al-Badar took refuge in the Saudi Arabian territory. Saudi Arabia sided with the ousted monarchy, while the United Arab Republic helped the republican regime, with the result that the relations between Saudi Arabia and the U.A.R. were seriously strained. The republican regime, however, seems to have come to stay in Yemen under the presidentship of al-Sallal, and the things are gradually settling down. King Faisal of Saudi Arabia has proposed a plebiscite in the country to decide the form of the government the Yemenites want for themselves.

Yemen was admitted as a member of the United Nations on September, 30, 1947, along with Pakistan, and is also a member of the Arab League. In January, 1950, Yemen laid claim to nine South Arabian British Protectorates, including Aden and Hadhramaut, and urged for their early restoration to Yemen. These British Protectorates have a population of over a million souls and are stretching along the Yemen territory on the Arabian Sea. Yemen claims that those areas were once an integral part of her country.

During the early years of the '60s, British forces made repeated and frequent encroachments on the Yemenite territory. Ta'izz has been the second capital of Yemen, besides San'a. The West has already penetrated into Yemen. Besides Iran and Iraq, Yemen is the third Shi'ite country, where the application of Islamic ideology, as such, has the least chance of success.

Since September, 1962, the republicans under al-Sallal backed by Egypt and the royalists under al-Badar supported by Saudi Arabia have been fighting a civil war in the Yemen. The republicans control the south, while the royalists are still powerful in the north (October, 1966).

(7)

KUWAIT

THE State of Kuwait is situated on the north-western coast of the Persian Gulf. The reigning Sabah dynasty was founded by Shaikh Sabah Abu 'Abdullah in 1756. In November, 1914, the British government recognized the Shaikhdom of Kuwait as an independent government under British protection; but, in early 1960s, Kuwait rejected this foreign 'protection' and has become completely independent. The area of Kuwait is about 5,800 square miles, and her estimated (1966) population is 400,000.

Kuwait has recently come into the limelight as the repository of vast reserves of oil, and has consequently assumed a position of economic and strategic significance. Since the conclusion, in 1951, of the agreement between the Shaikh of Kuwait and the Kuwait Oil Company, which established Kuwait's share in the oil profits on a 50-50 basis, Kuwait has been receiving over 600 million U.S. dollars annually.

Kuwait has practically no fresh water. Drinking water has had to be imported from Basra. A large plant for the distillation of sea water was put into operation early in 1953. An oil-town, Ahmadi, about 30 miles south-east of Kuwait city, has sprung up. The Kuwait Oil Company (KOC) is an Anglo-American concern owned equally by Anglo-Iranian and the Gulf Exploration Corporation and incorporated as a British company. The concession covers the whole area of Kuwait for a period of 75 years beginning from December, 1934. Already Kuwait rivals Saudi Arabia as the largest oil producer. Two American companies have prospecting rights in the Kuwait Neutral Zone, where oil was found in 1953.

Kuwait has the distinction of being the most affluent society in the world. Its *per capita* income at 3,600 U.S. dollars is 38 per cent above that of the U.S.A., and about 50 times that of Pakistan. Today, Kuwait is the 4th. largest oil producer in the world and the second (after Venezuela) biggest oil exporter. Kuwait is also the cheapest producer of crude oil in the world, and the first among producing countries in oil reserves. The total oil production in Kuwait in 1965 amounted to about 900 million barrels, which represents 8.5 per cent of the total world production. Its average production is over 2 million barrels per day; thus, Kuwait is the largest crude oil producer in the Middle East.

Kuwait's share of the oil profits from production in 1964 was estimated at 610 million dollars. Kuwait's economy has been expanding at an average rate of 8 per cent per annum. There is no direct taxation of personal income or wealth in Kuwait. The only important indirect tax consists of import duties charged for most items at 4 per cent *ad valorem* only.

The most notable achievement of Kuwait has been in the field of social services. The government is annually spending 150 dollars per head on education as compared with the annual per head educational expenditure of 92 dollars in the U.S.A., 120 dollars in the USSR., and only 0.6 dollars in Pakistan. The *per capita* public expenditure on health is 95 dollars, which again is the highest in the world. Late in 1961, Kuwait gave a concrete and constructive expression to her desire to share her wealth with her sister Arab countries by setting up a Kuwait Fund for the Arab economic programmes.

Shaikh 'Abdullah al-Salim al-Sabah, ruler of Kuwait, died in November, 1965, and was succeeded by his brother, His Highness Shaikh Sabah al-Salem al-Sabah, the present and 12th. ruler of the state of Kuwait. In July, 1965, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait signed an agreement to partition the neutral zone lying between the two countries, which shared equal rights in the zone, that was established by a convention in 1922.

(8)

OTHER ARAB SHAIKHDOMS

(A) Aden and Hadhramaut; (B) Oman and Muscat;
(C) The Trucial Shaikhs; (D) Bahrein; and (E) Qatar

(A) Aden and Hadhramaut : Britain's hold is strongest in the south-west corner of Arabia—the Aden colony and the protectorates. Aden is a volcanic peninsula on the Arabian coast, about hundred miles east of *Bab al-Mandeb*. It forms an important bunkering station on the highway to the East. The colony includes Little Aden, and the settlement and town of Shaikh 'Uthman on the mainland, with the villages of Imad and Hiswa, and Perim island. Aden became a British colony in 1937. The area of Aden colony is 75 square miles: including the Protectorate and the Hadhramaut, it is about 112,000 square miles; of Perim, 5 square miles. Population of Aden Colony (1966 estimate) : about 150,000; there are over 15,000 Indo-Pakistanis in Aden.

The Aden Protectorate lies to the east, west and north of the colony of Aden and consists of the territories and dependencies of Arab chiefs in protectorate treaty relations with the British government. The estimated (1966) population is one million. The Aden Protectorate is divided into the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorate. The former consists of 19 sultanates, and His Highness the Sultan of Lahej (or Abdali) is the premier chief. The names of the other 18 sultanates are as under : (1) Amiri; (2) Fazli; (3) Lower Yafa'i; (4) Haushabi; (5) Upper Yafa'i confederation; (6) Mausatta; (7) Dhubi; (8) Maflahi; (9) Hadhrami; (10) Shaib; (11) Quteibi; (12) 'Alawi; (13) 'Aqrabi; (14) Audhali; (15) Lower Aulaqi; (16) Upper Aulaqi; (17) Beiham; and (18) Subeihi.

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the Quaiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Soqatra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balihaf, and the Shaikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. His Highness the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla is the premier chief of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. The Hadhramaut is bounded on the east by the Mahri Sultanate and on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates. The Eastern Aden Protectorate also consists of *Ruba' al-Khali* (the Great Desert) in southern Arabia in the north of Hadhramaut. The Kuria Muria islands form part of the colony of Aden. They are five in number: (1) Haskiyah; (2) Suda; (3) Hallaniyah; (4) Gharzaut; and (5) Jibliyah. The island of Kamaran in the Red Sea, about 200 miles north of Perim, was taken by the British from the Turks in 1915.

In June, 1965, Britain's Colonial Secretary announced that the aim of Britain was of bringing the whole area to independence by 1968.

(B) Oman and Muscat: Oman is less closely tied to Britain. It has a British consul in its capital instead of a political agent, as is the case with the Persian Gulf states. The independent Sultanate of Oman and Muscat is situated at the easterly corner of South Arabia. A small strip of the coast on the eastern side of the Musandam peninsula from Dibah to Khor Kalba is administered by minor chiefs of Trucial Oman, independent of the Sultan. The Sultanate extends inland to the borders of the *Ruba' al-Khali*. North-west of Muscat, the coastal plain is known as the *Batinah*. The *Batinah* dates are famous for their flavour. The fertile province of Dhofar lies on the south-eastern coast of Arabia. Its principal town is Salalah on the coast, while Murbat is the port. The town of Muscat is the capital and seat of government. The adjacent town of Matrah is the starting point for the trade routes into the interior. The area of the Sultanate has been estimated at about 82,000 square miles, and the population (1966 estimate) is over a million, chiefly Arabs, but there is a strong infusion of negro blood, especially along the coast.

(C) The Trucial Shaikhs: From *Khor Kalba*, on the Gulf of Oman, 90 miles south of *Ras Musandam*, for nearly 50 miles to Dibah, the coast of the Gulf of Oman (with the exception of a small area belonging to the Shaikh of Kalba) is under the control of the Shaikh of Fujaira, a semi-independent ruler with no treaty relations with the British government. The tip of the Musandam peninsula, from Dibah on its east side to near Sha'am about 35 miles from *Ras Musandam* on its west side, forms part of the Sultanate of Muscat and is peopled by the Shihuh tribe. From Sha'am

for nearly 400 miles to *Khor al-Odeid* at the south-eastern end of the peninsula of Qatar the coast, formerly known as the 'Pirate Coast' of the Persian Gulf, belongs to the Trucial Shaikhs, who, in 1820, had signed a general treaty prescribing peace with the British government and perpetual abstention from plunder and piracy (including the slave trade) by land and sea. Under the 'Exclusive Agreement' of March, 1892, the Shaikhs, on behalf of themselves, their heirs and successors, undertook that they would, on no account, enter into any agreement or correspondence with any power other than the British government.

The area of these Shaikhdoms is not defined, but the total population (1966 estimate) is about 200,000 of whom about one-tenth are nomads. The main commercial port of the Trucial Coast is Dubai. The Trucial Shaikhs are the following: (1) Sharjah; (2) Ras al-Khaimah; (3) Umm al-Qawain; (4) Ajman; (5) Dubai; (6) Abu Dhabi; and (7) Kalba.

(D) Bahrein: In the Persian Gulf, a few miles away from the Saudi Arabian coast and Qatar, are the islands of Bahrein, with a population of (1966 estimate) over 200,000. The Bahrein islands form an archipelago in the Persian Gulf 20 miles off al-Hasa on the Arabian coast. The total area is about 213 square miles. Bahrein ('Two Seas'), the largest island, is 27 miles long and 10 miles wide. Muharraq, to the north-east, four miles long and one mile wide, is connected with Bahrein by a wide causeway, nearly two miles long. Other islands are Sitra, to the east, three miles long and one mile wide; Nabi Saleh, about two miles in circumference, and several islets.

Of the total population, about half are the original inhabitants belonging to the Shi'ah sect, the remainder, including the ruling family, being Sunnis; the latter live mainly in the towns of Manamah and Muharraq. The ruling family, al-Khalifah, came originally from the neighbourhood of Kuwait and occupied Bahrein, which was then in the hands of the Persians, in 1782. Manamah, the capital of the State and the commercial centre, is situated at the northern end of the largest island and extends for $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the shore. Bahrein is the centre of the famous pearl-fishing industry of the Persian Gulf. The Bahrein Petroleum Company is part of an organization owned by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Corporation. There are, in all, about 200 towns and villages in Bahrein. The members of the Dutch Reformed Church are very active in the evangelization of the populace.

The treatment of the American Company—the Bahrein Petroleum Company Ltd. (BAPCO)—which has the monopoly of exploiting oil in

Bahrein, with its non-American and non-European employees is reported to be prejudicial and unreasonable. There is the colour-bar and racial discrimination. While the so-called coloured employees of the Company stay in miserable and insanitary quarters at Manamah—16 miles away from their work—the Americans have built for themselves a 'white' community, in the middle of the island, known as Awali, where South African type segregation is practised.

(E) Qatar: The Shaikhdom, which includes the whole of the Qatar peninsula, extends along the coast of the Persian Gulf from *Khor al-Odeid* to the boundaries of al-Hasa. Its settled population is estimated at about 75,000. The relations of the Shaikh of Qatar with the British government are similar to those of the Trucial Shaikhs, and are regulated by the treaty of November, 1916. Qatar is a sandy peninsula, jutting out from Saudi Arabia into the Persian Gulf, and covers an area of about 4,000 square miles. The palace of the Shaikh is at Dohah on the east coast of the peninsula. Rich oil deposits (the Dukhan field) are being developed by the Petroleum Development (Qatar) Ltd., an associate of the I. P. C., which has held an exclusive concession for the entire Qatar peninsula since 1935, and which has acquired the same rights in Oman, too.

The General Assembly of the United Nations called on December 17, 1965, for the withdrawal of British troops from Oman and the immediate elimination of British domination in any form. The British Colonial Secretary, in February, 1966, reaffirmed Britain's policy to bring the whole of South Arabia to independence as a single sovereign state by 1968.

ARABS IN AFRICA

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INTRODUCTION

ISLAM IN NORTH AFRICA

NORTH Africa comprises the United Arab Republic (Egypt), Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. North Africa, as a whole, is a geographical unit. The region may be said to look one way towards Europe and the other way towards the Sahara. To a very large extent, the North African countries have had the same early history. The original inhabitants of western North Africa are Berbers; it was from them that the North African coast had the old name of 'Barbary'. The people of North Africa have some racial characteristics in common with the inhabitants of the North Mediterranean European shores. The Arab invasions of North Africa began in 647 C.E. These were religious as well as political conquests; everything Roman and Christian was swept away, and North Africa became and remained part of the Muslim world. Attempts at invasion from European countries met with little success until the French captured Algiers in 1830. This event, incidentally, marked the end of the Mediterranean pirates. For nearly a thousand years, piracy had been a flourishing industry of the peoples of the North African coasts.

After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Mediterranean took on a new importance as part of the new highway to the Far East. France, like Britain, was anxious to ensure that, there would be no interference with her traffic to and from her Asiatic dependencies. This anxiety was at least one of the motives for following up the annexation of Algeria with the establishment of a French protectorate in the two countries on either side—in Tunisia in 1881 and in Morocco in 1912. It was not unnatural that, these enterprises on the part of France, accom-

panying, as they did, the growth of British power in the Mediterranean through the establishment of a British protectorate in Egypt (1882), should have brought uneasiness to some countries on the European side of the Sea; and especially to Italy who, after achieving national unity in 1860, found herself dependent on sea-borne trade. Some share in the control of the Mediterranean seemed essential to her. Britain held one gateway (Gibraltar), and shared with France the control of the other (the Suez Canal). France also had partial control of 'the Sicilian Narrows' by acquiring Tunisia. To this situation, Italy reacted, partly by establishing what was to be a long term of friendly relations with Britain; but also, by the occupation of Libya in 1911-12.

After Amir 'Abd al-Qadir of Algeria (d. Damascus, 1883), the North African champion of Moroccan freedom arose, in the person of Ghazi Abd al-Karim (of Rif in Ajdir on the bay of Alhucemas). Ghazi 'Abd al-Karim died in February, 1963, at Cairo, where he had taken asylum, in May, 1947 after having escaped, in dramatic circumstances, from a French ship passing through the Suez Canal *en route* to France, from the island of Reunion, where he was shifted from Mauritius, by the French. The Moroccan Berber Muslim fighters were of great value in helping Franco's army conquer Spain for him. Libya regained her independence from Italian domination in December, 1951; Tunisia, in March 1956; and Morocco, too, in the same month and the same year, from the French control.

Intellectual life in all of North Africa has remained on rather a medieval level. Moroccan scholars have continued the tradition-bound scientific labours of their ancestors in the old style. In Algeria and Tunisia, the Arabs also failed to attain anything higher intellectually, simply because they were starved educationally by the French colonial government. The noted Algerian physician, Dr. Ben Jallul, and the Moroccan leader, 'Allal al-Fasi (whom the French had deported to Gabun in 1938) could do little to raise the standard of their countrymen.

Libya does not offer much in the field of knowledge. Both Sudan and Somalia claim to be partially Arab. Mauritania, though partly Arab, actually belongs to non-Arab West Africa. Egypt, alone, outshines the other North African countries in both material and religious fields.

(1)

THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

(Egypt)

THE earliest contact of Egypt with Islam was in 629 C.E., when the newly emerging Arabian power had already attracted the attention of the governors of the bordering Christian Byzantine provinces. Egypt had just been wrested from the Iranians, who had conquered it under emperor Heraclius. Cyrus, the new Byzantine governor (whom the Arabs of Alexandria called *Muqawqis*), sent to the Prophet of Islam at Medina two Coptic slave-girls among other gifts. The Prophet presented one of them to poet Hasan bin Thabit; the other, Mariyah, he retained for himself, who bore him a son, whom the Prophet named Ibrahim. But this son died in his very first year, on January 27, 632 C.E.

In December 639, 'Amr bin al-'As made an attack from Palestine on the fertile Fayyum plain, and conquered Pelusium in January 640 C.E. Now, Caliph 'Umar sent Zubair to Egypt with reinforcements. In June, 'Amr defeated the Byzantines at Heliopolis. On April 9, 641, Babylon (the old Memphis) surrendered. By a treaty, Alexandria was evacuated by the Byzantines on September 17, 642, and occupied by the Arabs. As the first token of the possession of the Nile Valley by Islam, 'Amr ibn al-'As erected the mosque, which still bears his name in Fustat, the military encampment at Babylon, later Old Cairo.

A large part of the magnificent Alexandrian library was destroyed in the siege of Alexandria by Julius Caesar; and the remainder was lost in the reign of emperor Theodosius, in the 4th century C.E. This devout Christian had ordered the destruction and dispersion of the splendid

remnant of the Philadelphian library at Alexandria, as he hated the works written by the 'pagans'. This is the same library for the destruction of which Caliph 'Umar and the Muslim Arabs have wrongly and dishonestly been blamed by the biased Christian and Jewish authors.

The rule of the Tulunids was the golden age of Egypt. Materially, the populace had flourished extraordinarily under Ahmad Ibn Tulun's astute fiscal policy. In 968 C.E., the 4th Fatimid caliph, al-Mu'izz, resumed his dynasty's plan of conquest. His general, Jauhar, a former Greek slave, in 969 C.E., conquered Egypt in a battle near the Pyramids of Gizeh, and began staking off the future Fatimid residence between the old canal (later filled in), which had once connected the Nile with the Suez, and the high ridge—Muqattam. The name of this new establishment, al-Mansuriyah, was changed into 'al Qahirah al-Mu'izziyah' (whence Cairo) by Caliph Mu'izz. Under the rule of the Fatimids, which lasted nearly 205 years, Egypt enjoyed a fair degree of tranquility. The third Fatimid to rule Egypt, al-Hakim Abu 'Ali al-Mansur (996-1020 C.E.), made a special name for himself, though less by services to the country than through a variety of character traits, based on psychic abnormality. He laid claim to divine veneration and to be an incarnation of divinity.

After Hakim's death, Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Darazi and his successor, Hamza bin Ahmad al-Hadi, in Syria, agitated on behalf of a new sect, called 'Druzes', in which mystical-pantheistic and ancient pagan conceptions, in addition to the veneration of the 'divine' Hakim, completely submerged Islam. The Druzes are found today in the Lebanon and Syria.

The last of the Fatimids, al-A'did, appointed the Kurd Shirkuh, as his *Wazir*, and the latter's successor, Salah al-Din (Saladin), eliminated the final remnant of the mock power of the Fatimids formally as well. Al-Azhar Mosque, still flourishing today, is the oldest institution of learning in Islam, which bears witness to the lofty aspirations of the Fatimids. In 1171 C.E., died the last of the Fatimids (al-A'did), and Egypt was restored to the spiritual control of the Caliphs of Baghdad by Saladin. Saladin was an independent ruler of Egypt, Hijaz and Yemen. In 1174 C.E., he conquered Syria.

In Syria, after 1169, a new *Shaikh al-Jabal* ('Old Man of the Mountains'), Rashid al-Din Sinan, had reorganized the *fida'ee* order of the Isma'iliyahs and created a base in the fortress of Masyad on the eastern slopes of the Nusairi mountains. In 1181 C.E., Saladin occupied Iraq (Mesopotamia). Guy of Lusignan, the Frankish king of Jerusalem, was defeated in 1187 by Saladin in the battle of Hittin. In September, the

same year, Saladin conquered Jerusalem and many other fortresses of the Crusaders. Sultan Saladin died at Damascus in March 1193. He was one of the greatest and most chivalrous monarchs the world has ever produced.

Baibars al-Zahir Rukn al-Din, in the great battle of 'Ain Jalut, in 1260 C.E., inflicted the first defeat on the Mongol hordes. Thereafter, Baibars became the ruler of Egypt, where he revived the Abbasid Caliphate, which had become extinct at Baghdad two years earlier as a result of the Mongol invasion. Ahmad Abu'l Qasim was proclaimed as the first Abbasid caliph at Cairo under the title of al-Mustansir billah. But these caliphs remained mere puppets in the hands of the Mamlukes. Baibars' regime is considered, like those of Mamun al-Rashid and Saladin, an 'age of splendour for Islam.' Baibars died in 1277 C.E. In January, 1517, Sultan Selim of Turkey attacked Egypt and his superior artillery inflicted a decisive defeat on the Mamlukes. Selim designated himself Caliph in August, the same year.

It was only after Egypt came into Napoleon's line of vision, as a gateway of attack on British hegemony in India, that it was drawn into world politics. Sultan Selim III of Turkey, however, sent out a few ships with troops to Egypt in 1799, with whom came a young Albanian officer, Muhammad 'Ali. The Turkish forces forced the French to evacuate Egypt in 1801. In 1806, the *Porte* acknowledged Muhammad 'Ali as the *Wali* of Egypt.

While France was aiming at a protectorate over Egypt, with a view to consolidating her colony, Algeria, Lord Palmerston of Britain considered the highway to India imperilled by any power, which united Syria and Egypt, and induced the four Great Powers into a concerted *démarche* against Muhammad 'Ali. At Austria's suggestion, a Congress in London took counsels on the 'Egyptian Question.' In 1840, Britain concluded with Russia and the two German powers the so-called 'Quadruple Alliance' to defend Turkey and to force Muhammad 'Ali to relinquish Syria.

Muhammad 'Ali died in 1848. On November 16, 1869, the Suez Canal was opened formally. The principle of the neutrality of the Suez Canal was asserted by the representatives of the powers at Conference held in Constantinople (now Istanbul) in 1881. This Convention was signed by the-then Great Powers, together with Spain, Holland and Turkey. The neutrality of the Canal was re-asserted by the *Entente Cordiale* between Britain and France, in 1904, and by the Peace of Versailles in 1918.

The defeat of Ahmad A'rabi Pasha at Tell al-Kabir in 1882 determined the history of Egypt for half-a-century. Egypt became a British protectorate, and the British Consul-General, Lord Cromer, became the real ruler of the country (1883—1907). Egypt served as a glacis for securing the control of India, and it was not until after the First World War that it was able to win back its independence in two decades of tenacious struggle.

Mustafa Kamil founded the 'Fatherland Party' (*Hizb al-Watan*) in 1894. His newspaper, *al-Liwa* (the Banner), founded in 1900, gained wide circulation. Mustafa Kamil Pasha prepared the country for political emancipation. But he died soon, in 1908. The British government decreed protectorate over Egypt in 1914.

When the First World War came to an end, a man emerged, who was to determine the fate of Egypt for the following decade — Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha — a political disciple of Jamal al-Din 'Afghani'. Sa'd founded, in 1907, the 'People's Party', with which Cromer hoped to checkmate Mustafa Kamil's 'Fatherland Party'. In 1918, Zaghlul founded the *Wafd* Party. In February, 1922, Britain declared her protectorate over Egypt extinct, and in March, Ahmad Fuad assumed the title of the King of Egypt. Zaghlul became the Premier of Egypt in January, 1923. Zaghlul died in August, 1927, and, in March, 1928, the king asked the Secretary of Zaghlul, Mustafa Nahas Pasha, to form the government. In August, 1936, a treaty was signed in London. With this treaty, foreign rule in Egypt was terminated. In April, 1936, King Fuad died. His son, Faruq, assumed the government in July, 1937.

In 1937, Egypt joined the League of Nations, and the 'Capitulations' were finally abolished by the 'Montreaux Agreement'. The *Ikhwan al-Muslimoon* (Muslim Brotherhood) emerged under the leadership of Shaikh Hasan al-Banna to wean the public away from the European concept of nationalism to a puritanical Islamic outlook. Egyptian nationalism was gradually married with Arabism under the influence of a Syrian-dominated press. Egypt was a member of the 'Palestine Round Table Conference' of 1939, and, from that point, it was but a short step to her active participation in the movement for Arab unity. Egypt was the leading member of the Arab League, when it was formed in 1945. When Britain relinquished the Palestine mandate in May, 1948, Egypt and Syria came to grips with 'Israel'. The disaster, which the Egyptian army suffered in Palestine, was a profound shock to the country.

Now, Egypt became a member of the United Nations. After the anti-foreign riots of 1946, *Ikhwan al-Muslimoon* was banned, whereupon

one of the *Ikhwans* shot Premier Nuqrashi Pasha dead. In February, 1949, the leader of the *Ikhwans*, Shaikh Hasan al-Banna, himself, fell at the hands of an unknown assassin.

On July 23, 1952, Cairo and Alexandria were seized by a bloodless *coup d'etat*, organized by a group of army officers, headed by Lt. Colonel Jamal Abdel Nasser. Three days later, King Faruq was forced to abdicate in favour of his infant son, Ahmad Fuad II, and left the country for Italy. On June 18, 1953, Egypt was declared a republic. On February 12, the same year, the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement was signed on the Sudan.

The five years, 1954-58, were very momentous for Egypt, during which occurred the important happenings of the final abrogation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty; the eclipse of the power of General Muhammad Naguib as President; the complete suppression of the *Ikhwan al-Muslimoon*; the election of Jamal Abdel Nasser, on June 24, 1956, as the President of Egypt; the tripartite (Anglo-French-Israeli) attack on Egypt in October/November, 1956; and the establishment of the United Arab Republic (Egypt-Syria) in February, 1958. Earlier, when the American and British governments announced their abrupt withdrawal of the aid to help Egypt finance the Aswan High Dam Project, President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal Company on July 26, 1956.

Egypt occupies the north-eastern corner of the African Continent, with an extension across the Gulf of Suez into the Sinai peninsula, which is usually regarded as lying in Asia. The area of Egypt is approximately 386,200 square miles, of which only some 15,500 square miles (i.e., about 5%) are cultivated and settled, the remainder being the desert or marsh. Egypt has political frontiers on the east with 'Israel', on the south with the Sudan, and on the west with the kingdom of Libya. The estimated population of Egypt (1966) is over 29 million; Cairo is the capital. In religion, over 90% of Egyptians are Muslim, and almost all of them follow the Sunni (Hanafi-Shafi'i) tenets. There are about 1½ million Copts (indigenous Egyptian Christians). There is also a Jewish community of several thousands. The religion of the State is Islam.

Late in September, 1961, Syria revolted against President Jamal Abdel Nasser, broke away from the United Arab Republic, and became independent again. In 1963, Iraq joined in a union with Egypt. In 1964, Egypt sided with the republican regime of Yemen against her ousted Imam Badr, who found refuge in Saudi Arabia. After the overthrow of President Ahmad Ben Bella of Algeria, in June, 1965, the chances of the union of Algeria with the U.A.R. have now receded.

Late in 1955, the abolition of the *Shari'ah* and communal courts in Egypt marked a crucial point in the religious and political development of Egypt and perhaps of other Arab countries, too. It represented the culmination of a process, that had been operating for over a century to bring to an end the six centuries' old *Shari'ah* state in Egypt. In 1966, a joint Indo-U.A.R. venture developed the H-F 24 supersonic fighter plane in India. In February, 1966, members of the banned 'Muslim Brotherhood' were indicted on charges of trying to overthrow the government and assassinate President Jamal Abdel Nasser, who is opposing King Feisal's efforts for Muslim unity, thus rendering great disservice to the cause of the Islamic ideology.

Three leaders of *Ikhwan al-Muslimoon*—Syed Kotb, Youssef Hawash and Abdel Fattah Isma'il—were hanged in Cairo on August 29, 1966. (In 1954, the organisation was outlawed and five of its leaders were hanged.) Four other members received the sentence of hard labour for life. They are Aly Ashmawy, Ahmed Abdel Meguid, Sabry Arafa and Magdy Abdel Aziz. Supreme guide, Hassan al-Hodeibi, was awarded three years in jail. This brutality of the Egyptian government hurt the entire Muslim world deeply.

President Nasser paid an official visit to India, along with President Tito of Yugoslavia, for a tripartite summit meeting, in early September, 1966. Egypt is collaborating with India (against the interests of Pakistan) in the manufacture of sophisticated armament, but it is a tragic irony that India is also collaborating with Israel—the arch enemy of the Arabs, particularly the U.A.R. A new type of Egyptian colonialism is developing in North Africa, Arab Middle East and Yemen.

(2)

LIBYA

LIBYA occupies a central position in North Africa, wedged between Egypt in the east, and Tunisia and Algeria in the west. It is usual to think of Libya as consisting of its three historic divisions—Tripolitania in the west, Cyrenaica in the east, and Fezzan in the south. Libya has an area of about 680,000 square miles, with an estimated (1966) population of 1,700,000. Libya is indeed much the poorest part of 'Barbary'. There are no rivers in Libya, and the only natural water supply is from the springs in the oases and elsewhere.

In the 7th Christian century, the westward sweep of Islam—the successor of the power of Byzantium in North Africa—engulfed the whole area, creating once more a political unification and providing a valuable east-west highway for traffic. Due to more favourable geographical features, the settled life of Libya became concentrated in the western Tripolitanian region. Cyrenaica, because of the Libyan desert, was almost erased from the map for several centuries. Its ports were lairs for pirates, and the grim reputation of the 'Barbary Coast' inspired fear among all who sailed the central Mediterranean.

During the Caliphate of 'Umar the Great, 'Amr bin al-A's, the conqueror of Egypt, overran the country as far as the Fezzan and Tripoli. It happened in 643 C.E. Then followed successive expeditions, fiercely resisted by the Berbers, in the course of which 'Uqbah bin Nafi' founded Qairawan (670 C.E.), and reached the Atlantic. The majority of the Berbers rapidly embraced Islam, but, for the most part, in its schismatic forms, as the Kharijites, the Ibadites, and the Shi'ah. An outlet for their turbulence was found in joining them with the Arabs in the invasion of Spain (711 C.E.).

Schism and continual rebellion induced the Caliph of Baghdad, Harun al-Rashid, to appoint, in 800 C.E., Ibrahim ibn al-Aghlab as its governor with his capital at Qairawan. He founded the Aghlabid dynasty, which became virtually independent of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. A century later, a Shi'ite rising overthrew the Aghlabids, and founded the Shi'ite Fatimid dynasty which, from Tunisia, conquered Egypt, transferred the seat of their government to Cairo, in 972 C.E., and made Bulukkin ibn Ziri the governor of *Ifriqiyyah*.

When the Zirid Amir renounced Shi'ism and turned to the Abbasid Caliphate at Baghdad, the Fatimid caliph of Egypt, al-Mustansir, reacted by sending against Libya, in 1049 C.E., two nomad Arab tribes, which had been kept in Upper Egypt—Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaim. This invasion was a final catastrophe for medieval Libya. The country was devastated and the agriculture abandoned. The next two centuries tell of little but inter-tribal wars, and the gradual fusion of the Arab and Berber races. Nor do the 14th and 15th centuries offer much more to record in *Ifriqiyyah*.

The Ottoman rulers of Constantinople now proceeded to organise their North African possessions into three regencies—Algeria, Tunisia and Tripolitania (with Cyrenaica and Fezzan)—each under a Pasha. The Janissaries (the professional soldiery of the garrisons of slave origin) became a power within the state. No less dangerous was the influence of the pirate captains—the Corsairs.

The history of the 17th and 18th centuries is one of intrigues and rebellions. In 1711, Ahmad Karamanli of Ottoman origin and an officer of the Janissaries was proclaimed 'Dey' and Pasha, and Sultan Ahmad III recognized him as such. He controlled the whole of Libya. The Karamanli dynasty lasted until 1835. At the Congress of Vienna, the European powers vehemently protested against the piracy of the Barbary coast, which was suppressed in 1830. The Sultan of Turkey, in 1835, reoccupied Libya and brought it once more under the direct rule of the *Porte*.

Italy acquired Libya in 1912, seizing the land from Turkey. Thus ended three centuries of Turkish sovereignty over Libya. The withdrawal of the Turkish armies did not leave the Italians masters of the situation, for there was a prolonged resistance from the native peoples under the leadership of the Sennusi—a Muslim sect who came from Cyrenaica and built up a military power in the desert oases in the south. Tripolitania, the western half of the country, was reconquered by 1925, but it was not until 1932 that the Sennusi in Cyrenaica, the eastern province, were finally

subdued by methods, which are still remembered with deep bitterness. Wells were sealed up by inhuman Italians; surrendered tribes were crowded into concentration camps, where no shelter or food was available; and Arab chiefs were hurled down on their villages from aeroplanes. It was after the final conquest of this type—accomplished by "butcher" Graziani—that intensive and dishonest colonization schemes to settle Italian immigrants forcibly and illegally on confiscated Libyan lands were put into operation by the Italian Fascist regime.

The rise, decline, and final political triumph of the Sennusi Order (primarily in Cyrenaica) is the story of the birth of Libya as an independent nation. The Order was founded by an Algerian, al-Sayyid Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi al-Khattabi al-Idrisi al-Hasani, in the 19th century. The Order drew its strength through its identity with the *badawi* of Cyrenaica, north Fezzan, and south Tripolitania. Theologically, the *Sanusiyah* was a *sufi* or *dervesh* Order, which followed the Maliki canonical rites of Sunni Islam. In fact, the Sennusis were the only *sufi* sect tolerated by the strict Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia. The seat of the Order was fixed at the Kufra oasis. Many Shaikhs of *zawiyahs* came from Tunisia, Algeria or Morocco, who were learned theologians; many of them had schooled at the Jaghbub University, second only to al-Azhar (Cairo) in the Muslim world. The first *jihad*, called by the Sennusi Order, was against French encroachments in the Sudan and Fezzan, in which the tribes resisted from 1902 to 1912.

The dissection of Africa by European powers in the late 19th and early 20th century was almost complete when Italy entered the arena. After the successful 1908 Young Turk revolution, the Italians landed in Libya, hypocritically invoking liberation from Turkey. The outside interference, however, welded all the *badawin* into a close alliance against the Italians. World War I ended with Italy in social and political chaos. Sayyid Idris, Head of the Sennusi Order, became the political leader of Cyrenaica. Tripolitania sank into tribal wars and anarchy. From 1917 to 1923, an armed truce prevailed. Then the Italo-Sennusi war re-started and did not end until 1932, when the Sennusi Order was entirely destroyed. Only sporadic resistance occurred after the capture and public hanging of the greatest Libyan soldier-patriot, Sidi 'Umar al-Mukhtar. Although most of the Sennusi family fled to Egypt, they remained the symbol of resistance; their Grand Sennusi, Sayyid Muhammad Idris al-Sanusi, is now Idris I, King of Libya.

During World War II, British forces conquered Libya from the Italians. The Libyans, oppressed and impoverished under Fascist rule,

rallied to the cause of the Western democracies in the hope of ridding themselves of their oppressors. However, the British set up a military administration over Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, while France did the same over Fezzan. The Italian Peace Treaty required Italy to renounce her right to her former African possessions—Libya, Eritrea and Somali-land. The final decision was entrusted to the United Nations, whose General Assembly, in November, 1949, decided that Libya—comprising Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fezzan—was to be constituted in an independent and sovereign state, independence to become effective not later than January 1, 1952. The Libyan national assembly passed a resolution, in December, 1950, establishing Libya as a federal state with the Sennusi Amir as the King of federal Libya. In December, 1951, Libya was proclaimed an independent State.

Libya was admitted to the Arab League in March, 1953. In September, 1956, the first modern University of Libya was opened with the help of the American University of Nevada. The discovery oil well 'Zelten No. 1' (south of Benghazi) started in 1960. According to the latest (1966) reports, oil has become 'the economic miracle' of Libya with immense reserves. Libya has two capitals: Tripoli and Benghazi. There are a number of political parties in Tripolitania, but none in either Cyrenaica or Fezzan. King Idris I is probably the only Muslim ruler in the world, who has expressly forbidden the use for him of the title of 'His Majesty', and his wife, too, does not carry the title of 'Queen'. Prince al-Hasan Rida is the crown prince.

(3)

TUNISIA

TUNISIA is a long, narrow land lying against that part of the African coast which turns due north. It is, therefore, bounded by the Mediterranean on both the north and east; behind, on the west, is Algeria. Its triangular base penetrates into the desert, with Libya on one angle and Alegria on the other. All the southern part of Tunisia is desert, and it amounts to about one half of the whole country. On the northern fringe of the desert, from Gabes right across the country, is a region of date-groves—the famous *Jerid*. The desert city of Qairawan, rising dazzling white from the surrounding waste, contains one of the most impressive mosques in the entire Muslim world. Tunis stands on a lagoon. Bizerta is both a harbour and a naval base. As a harbour, it has no rival on the whole African coast.

Among the Arabs, the term *Ifriqiyyah* was applied to present Tunisia and Libya combined. An army was despatched by Amir Mu'awiyah under the celebrated Arab general, 'Uqbah bin Nafi' (a nephew of 'Amr ibn al-'As), which marched into *Ifriqiyyah*, beat down all Byzantinian opposition, and reduced the country into an Arab dependency. Thus, in 670 C.E., in alliance with the Berbers, 'Uqbah succeeded in destroying the Christian rule in North Africa altogether. 'Uqbah built the famous military city of Qairawan to the south of Tunis. In 675 C.E., 'Uqbah determined upon an advance into the west. He forced his way through until he reached the Atlantic. Disappointed at the sight of the vast expanse of water, which checked any further advance, he spurred his horse chestdeep into the waves, and, raising his hands towards heaven, exclaimed: "Almighty Allah, but for this sea, I would have gone into still

remoter regions, spreading the glory of Thy Name and smiting Thy enemies".

In 708 C.E., the famous Musa ibn Nusair was made the viceroy of *Ifriqiyyah*. Upto this time, the whole of the Berber nation was converted to Islam. The Sudan ('Black Country') was annexed in 735 C.E., and the following year Sardinia was conquered. In 741, Sicily was invaded, and Syracuse was reduced after a hard fight. Some conquests were also made in France. Ibrahim bin Aghlab was appointed governor of *Ifriqiyyah* in 799 C.E., and the office was made hereditary in his family. A large body of Spanish Muslims landed in Crete and conquered it. Their descendants have dwelt there ever since. The Arabs took Palermo in 831, and by 840 they had conquered most of Sicily. An Arab fleet sailed up the Tiber, plundered Fundi, and the suburbs of Rome, and laid siege to Gaeta. In 850 C.E., the Arabs renewed their attack on Rome (under Pope Leo IV).

In 869 C.E., Khafajah's son, Muhammad, again besieged Gaeta, and held the suburbs of Rome under contribution. Under his governorship, Malta was captured by a fleet under Ahmad bin 'Umar. The Arabs spread their civilization over the island of Sicily to such an extent that the Normans, who, under Count Roger de Hauteville, put an end to their rule in 1060 C.E., took over not merely the Arab system of administration, but also the basic elements of Islamic culture in intellectual life and in art.

By 912 C.E., the Isma'ili Imam 'Ubaidallah, the 'Mahdi,' was the unchallenged ruler of the whole of North Africa from the Libyan desert to Western Mauritania. 'Ubaidallah al-Mahdi was succeeded in 934 C.E., by his son, Abu'l Qasim Muhammad Nizar, who assumed the title of al-Qa'im bi Amr-illah. Qa'im overran southern Italy as far as Gaeta, and his ships of war captured Genoa. Qa'im died in 946 C.E., and was succeeded by his son, Abu Tahir Isma'il, surnamed al-Mansur bi Amr-illah. Mansur died in 943 C.E., when his son, Abu Tamim Ma'ad, ascended the throne under the title of al-Mu'iz li-din-illah. Mu'iz was unquestionably the Mamun of the West, and under him North Africa attained the highest pitch of civilization and prosperity.

The two Muslim sovereigns, Umayyad caliph al-Nasir of Spain and the Fatimid caliph Mu'iz of North Africa, instead of joining their forces for the conquest of Europe, wasted their strength in warring upon each other. Ahmad bin Hasan al-Kalbi, the viceroy, brought into subjection the whole island of Sicily in 966 C. E. Sicily has never been so prosperous as it was under the Kalbite Amirs. The university of medicine at Palermo

rivalled those of Baghdad and Cordova. When the seat of the Fatimid empire was removed to Egypt, the Zirids ruled as their lieutenants at Mahdiah, and, about 1045 C. E., Mu'iz the Zirid, transferred his nominal allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphs. The Fatimids, in revenge, let loose upon North Africa, about 1048 C. E., a vast horde of *bedouins* from Upper Egypt (Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaim), the ancestors of the modern nomads of 'Barbary'. All North Africa was ravaged by the invaders.

In 1574, Sultan Selim II reduced the country to a Turkish province. The government of Turkish 'Deys' lasted till 1705, but was soon overshadowed by the authority of the 'Beys'. Husain bin 'Ali, the son of a Cretan, was proclaimed sovereign by the Janissary troops under the title of 'Bey', and was able to establish the hereditary sovereignty, which lasted, without change of dynasty, to July, 1957, when Tunisia was made a republic.

Under 'Deys' and 'Beys' alike, Tunisia was called by Europe "a pirate state". The European powers continually concluded treaties with the rulers of Tunisia for the safe passage of their ships in the Mediterranean. The definite abandonment of piracy may be dated from the presentation to the Bey, in 1819, of a collective note of the powers assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, Lord Salisbury agreed to allow France a "free hand" in Tunisia in return for French acquiescence in the British lease of Cyprus. In 1881, the French compelled the Bey to accept a French protectorate. The actual conquest of the country was not effected without a serious struggle with Tunisian patriotism, especially at Sfax.

The history of Tunisia, during the current century, is actually the biography of the great Tunisian leader and the first president of his country, Habib Bourquiba—the undisputed leader of the Tunisian nationalist movement and the creator of the 'Neo-Destour Party'. In June, 1955, the Franco-Tunisian conventions were signed in Paris, and in March, 1956, the French government signed a protocol, recognizing the complete independence of Tunisia. Bourquiba was elected the first democratic prime minister of independent Tunisia. Tunisia was admitted to the membership of the United Nations in November, 1956. The Tunisian national constituent assembly deposed Sidi Lamine Bey, the nominal ruler of Tunisia, on July 25, 1957, set up a republic, and elected Premier Habib Bourquiba as the first President of Tunisia. The area of Tunisia is about 48,195 square miles; its population (1966 estimate) is approximately five million. The capital is Tunis.

President Habib Bourquiba's long cherished dream is the formation of the federation of the North African States (minus the United Arab Republic, i.e. Egypt) —Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, but it is yet far from being an accomplished fact. President Bourquiba rendered tremendous moral and material support to the Algerian national movement to attain freedom. One of the shocking things, however, to the entire Muslim world, that President Bourquiba did, was a serious interference in the Islamic law by abolishing polygamy in Tunisia and rendering it a criminal offence.

The grand mosque of Zaitunah (*Jami' al-Zaitunah*) in Tunis (founded in 732 C. E.) is the seat of an important Muslim university, with 40,000 pupils and 22 *madressahs* with boarding houses. *Jami' al-Zaitunah* of Tunis ranks, with *Jami' al-Azhar*, Cairo; *Jami' al-Qairuwan*, Fez; and *Jami' al-Jaghbug*, Libya, as one of the oldest and most important Muslim religious universities in the world. In the 19th century, Khair al-din Pasha developed *al-Zaitunah* to what it is today.

The Christian Missionary 'White Fathers' have their headquarters for Africa in Tunis, which is called their 'Brains Trust'. The famous song, "Home, Sweet Home", was written at Tunis; its author, John Howard Payne, was American Consul in Tunis in the 1840's. Sfax in Tunisia was thought by the British novelist, Ronald Fairbank, as the most beautiful city in the world.

So far as the application of the Islamic ideology to the life of the people in Tunisia is concerned, the prospects, unfortunately, seem to be remote, as the Tunisian intelligentsia is much influenced by the European, particularly French, culture to the detriment of the Islamic way of life. The masses, however, are untouched by the Western sophistication, and are good Muslims here as elsewhere. A very serious difference of opinion has arisen between President Bourquiba and President Nasser in the Arab League over the Palestine question, with the result that Tunisia has boycotted the League.

Early in October, 1966, Tunisia broke diplomatic relations with the U.A.R. The quarrel erupted in April, 1965, when President Bourquiba favoured negotiated peace with Israel.

(4)

ALGERIA

ALGERIA is easily the largest of the countries of North Africa. It has an area of 947,500 square miles, which is roughly four times the size of France. But, of this expanse, only about one-tenth is suitable for cultivation; all but the extreme north is desert with scattered oases. The capital of the country is Algiers. The total (1966 estimated) population of the country is about 12 million.

The history of Algeria, which constitutes the central part of 'Barbary' (or *Maghrib*), has almost always been bound up with that of Morocco and Tunisia, which are the western and the eastern parts of that great natural region, respectively. The actual name of 'Algeria' does not appear until the 16th century, when Turkish rule was established in the central *Maghrib*. In the 12th century C.E., what remained of the Roman civilization in North Africa was finally destroyed by the Arab invasion. Algeria was, thus, detached from the Latin world, and absorbed into that of Islam. The first Arab invasion took place in the 7th century C.E.; the Berbers (*Imazirin*) resisted at first, but then embraced a heretical form of Islam, known as the *Kharijism*. They participated with the Arabs in the conquest of Spain, and of Egypt (under the Fatimids). In the 11th century C.E., the second invasion of the Arab tribes—the Hilal and Suleim—devastated North Africa.

The Berbers, nevertheless, set up large and powerful empires during the Middle Ages. Two dynasties of a religious and reforming character were founded: those of the Almoravids and Almohads; the former by the nomads of the Sahara, and the latter by the Berbers of the Moroccan Atlas. Their rule extended not only to the whole of North

Africa, but also to Spain, to which they gave the civilization it had never learnt before. Three kingdoms were founded in the 13th century on the ruins of the Almohad empire: 1) that of the Merinids of Fez; 2) that of the 'Abd al-Ouadites of Tlemsen; and (3) that of the Hafsids of Tunis. These three kingdoms corresponded, roughly, to the modern Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, respectively.

Once they had reconquered the Iberian peninsula, the Spaniards and Portuguese continued the struggle against the Muslims in North Africa. Algerians, wishing to be delivered from the Spaniards, called in two Graeco-Turkish corsairs—the brothers Barbarosa. Khair al-Din Barbarosa was the real founder of the Regency of Algiers. The Ottoman Sultan conferred on him the title of 'Beylierbey' (Bey of Beys).

The first period of the Turkish rule in North Africa (1518-87) ended with the reign of Eulj-'Ali, the last and the most notable of the African 'Beylierbeys'. It was followed by the period of the Triennial Pashas (1587–1659), and then by that of the Deys (1659-1830). For 300 years, Algiers was the headquarters of piracy. Down to the beginning of the 19th century, the Beys of Tunisia and the Deys of Algeria, as well as the Qaramanlis of Tripolitania, and the rulers of Morocco, all, had pursued a career of piracy, as did the Italians in those days.

In June 1830, the French army landed off Algiers, and a month later the Dey had to capitulate. At this time arose the great Algerian Muslim hero, Amir 'Abd al-Qadir. With the title of *Amir al-Mu'mineen*, 'Abd al-Qadir preached *jihād* (holy war) against the French, and, for the next 15 years, he continually fought against the foreign intruders and usurpers of his country, defeating them several times. However, in December, 1846, he was encircled and overwhelmed by the French troops, and was forced to surrender. The French took him to Toulon and held him captive in Amboise. Napoleon III gave him his freedom in December, 1852. He, at first, settled down in Brusa, then in Istanbul (in 1855), and finally in Damascus, where he died in 1883.

An 'Army of National Liberation' (A.L.N.) and a 'Front of National Freedom' (F.L.N.), which led the resistance against the French rule, were mainly composed of workers of the M.T.L.D. ('Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberation'), and constituted a mass militant movement. The events of November 1, 1954, united into one great front the active political forces supported by the entire Algerian nation.

The Algerian^T rebellion broke out on All-Saints' Day (November 1, 1954). This 1954 Algerian revolution was started by a small group of the veteran nationalist militants, most of whom had served long-term imprisonment or were on the run. They had been members of the extreme nationalist movements – 'the North African Star', 'the Algerian People's Party', and the M.T.L.D. All these parties had been controlled, from time to time, by the veteran nationalist, al-Haj Ahmad Messali Haj. Apart from these two groups, there was also the hard core of the Party—the active para-military group—known as the 'O.S.' (or, 'Special Section'). This group formed a new organisation, known as the 'C.R.U.A.' (or 'Revolutionary Committee of Action and Unity')—the extreme wing of the M.T.L.D. It was the 'C.R.U.A.', which planned the November, 1954, revolution.

In June, 1958, General Charles de Gaulle came to power as 'the legal dictator of France'. In the first de Gaulle cabinet, the Minister of Justice, Michel Debre, wanted Europe to unite "in a defence pact against Islam instead of Communism." The 'F.L.N.' grew from strength to strength. After over seven years of 'Algerian War', whole regions of the country fell into nationalist hands. Tunisia helped Algerian nationalists against the French. The newly-proclaimed 'Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic' (G.P.R.A.) was formally recognised by China and by the Arab and some Muslim states. The 'G.P.R.A.' transferred its headquarters from Cairo to Tunis in October, 1958. De Gaulle's coming to power in June, 1958, had started to change the situation.

Meanwhile, an unequal and brutal war continued between the French forces and the Algerian nationalist fighters for freedom. In April, 1961, several French generals, led by Gen. Challe and Gen. Raoul Salan, staged an abortive *coup* against de Gaulle in Algeria. In August, Farhat Abbas was replaced as prime minister of the 'Algerian provisional government' by Ben Youssef ben Khedda. Pakistan recognised 'G.P.R.A.' the same month.

Secret talks held from February 11 to 18, 1962, at Les Rousses (in French Jura mountains) led to the cease-fire and political agreements between G.P.R.A. and France on all principal points. In March, France and the G.P.R.A. signed a cease-fire agreement at Evian (French Alps). 'Abd al-Rahman Fares became the head of the provisional executive, that was set up in Algeria. In April, the famous Algerian Muslim heroine, Jamilah Bouhired, was freed from a French jail. In May, France carried out her first underground nuclear test in Algerian Sahara. In June, the G.P.R.A., at Tunis, dismissed the Chief of Staff of the 'A.L.N.'

(National Liberation Army), Colonel Boumedienne (now the head of the Algerian State).

Algeria became an independent State on July 3, 1962, signalling the end of 132 years of the French barbaric colonialism. The Provisional Algerian Government of Ben Youssef ben Khedda, in August, surrendered virtually all its powers to the 'Political Bureau' headed by the-then Vice-Premier Ahmad Ben Bella, who took full control of the situation in the country.

For about three years, Ahmad Ben Bella (first as Prime Minister and then as President) ruled over Algeria with an iron hand, during which it was known that Algeria had agreed to join in a federation with the United Arab Republic (as Iraq had done). In June, 1965, however, Colonel Boumedienne, Commander-in-Chief of Algerian forces, effected a military *coup*, overthrowing and imprisoning Ben Bella, and assuming himself the control of the country as Prime Minister.

As regards the application of the Islamic ideology in Algeria, the demoralising French way of life, through its long domination of the country, disrupted the Islamic system completely so much so that perhaps a generation will be required to revive the Islamic past there. An underground opposition party (O.C.R.A.)—the Algerian clandestine revolutionary organisation—is working to overthrow the Boumedienne government.

(5)

MOROCCO

MOROCCO is the most westerly of the North African states, and occupies the north-western corner of the African continent. Its northern Mediterranean coastline ends in the peninsula of Ceuta (Sibta), which forms one side of the Straits of Gibraltar. In the north, between the Atlas and the mountains of northern Morocco, there is a relatively narrow corridor of low land extending into Algeria. This, known as the 'Taza Corridor', is the main route for communications from one country to the other.

Although the people of Morocco are commonly referred to as the 'Moors', it must not be thought that this means that they are of a different race from the rest of the people of North Africa. The term has no racial meaning and merely refers to the inhabitants of Morocco as a whole. Morocco is the only one of the Barbary states, where the majority of the people are Berbers, who have not been completely Arabized. The whole northern Morocco is often inaccurately referred to as the 'Riff', but this properly only applies to a part of the mountainous country that rises abruptly from the sea and is inhabited by Berber tribesmen—the Riffi. The word 'Riff' (*al-Rif*) means 'the edge'.

During the reign of the Abbasid caliph Hadi, a cousin of Husain (bin 'Ali, bin Hasan II; bin Hasan I, bin Hadrat 'Ali), Idris (a brother of Nafs al-Zakiyyah), escaped to Mauritania from Medina; in Mauritania he obtained the adherence of the Berbers, who accepted him as their chief and *imam*. With their assistance, Idris founded the celebrated Idrisid dynasty and established a powerful kingdom, which, for a long

time, flourished in Morocco. *Maghrib al-Aqsa* was, henceforth, separated from the Abbasid Empire.

The Berbers of the Sahara, called the *Mulassimin*, had, by then, been converted to Islam. The word *Mulassimin* means 'the People of the Veil' from *lisam* (the veil). Under their spiritual leaders, who bore the title of *murabit* (a saint, or a pious and holy man), the *Mulassimin* had made vast conquests, and their empire extended from Senegambia to Algeria. Their rulers were called *Al-Murabitah*, corrupted into Almoravids. The famous Yusuf bin Tashifin, who had been invested by the Caliph of Baghdad with the coveted title of *Amir al-Muslimeen*, was their ruler, to whom the Arab kings of Spain addressed their appeals for help.

In response to their prayers, Yusuf bin Tashifin crossed to Spain in October 1086 C.E. Near Seville, he was joined by the forces of Mu'tamid and other Andalusian chiefs, and the united Muslim army attacked the forces of Alfonso of Leon at a place called Zallaka (Sacralias, in the south of Badajoz). A frightful and sanguinary battle took place. Alfonso fled, leaving behind his butchered and battered army. The victory of Zallaka paralyzed, for a time, the Christian kingdom of Leon. Yusuf died in 1106 C.E., and was succeeded by his son, 'Ali, surnamed Abu'l Hasan, who defeated the Christian rulers several times and took from them Talavera, Madrid (Majrit), Guadalaxara (Wadi al-Hijara), Badajoz, Oporto, and Lisbon (Alishbuna).

In 1120 C.E., one, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad bin 'Abd Allah bin Tumart (an 'Alid descended from Hasan I), a native of Sus in West Africa, appeared among the Berbers inhabiting the vast chain of mountains, which intersect Mauritania. He was an Arab by descent, but belonged to one of the Berber tribes by adoption. He commenced to preach religious reforms among the wild inhabitants of the Atlas, and announced himself as the *Mahdi*. The followers and disciples of Ibn Tumart styled themselves *al-Muwahhidin* (Unitarians).

The struggle between Almoravid and Almohad (*al-Muwahhid*) furnished a glorious opportunity to the Spanish Christians for ravaging the Muslim territories in Spain, and committing the most appalling atrocities on the Muslims. Emperor Alphonso VII carried fire and sword to the very walls of Cordova and Seville. Again, the Andalusian Muslims appealed for help to their brethren across the Straits. In 1147 C.E., Ibn Tumart's lieutenant, 'Abd al-Mu'min, brought Andalusia under his sway. In 1160 C.E., he took Mahdich from the Franks, and assumed the

title of *Amir al-Mu'minin*. With the conquest of this important city, he became the master of the whole of North Africa from the desert of Barca (present Tripoli) westward to the Atlantic.

Ya'qub (1184-99 C.E.) crossed over from Africa. The Franks attacked the Almohad sovereign at a place called Alarcos (al-Aark) in the neighbourhood of Badajoz. The Christians suffered a fearful defeat. Alphonso fled to Toledo, where he was again beaten disastrously. Many cities and fortresses, both in Spain and Portugal, were reconquered, including Madrid, Toledo and Lisbon. Towards the end of 1197 C.E., Ya'qub returned to his African dominions, where he died in 1199 C.E.

Ya'qub was a contemporary of Saladin, and it was to him that the great sovereign of Asia had sent, as ambassador, the nephew of Amir Osama, soliciting his aid against the Crusaders. The famous physicians, Avenzoar (Ibn Zuhr) and Avenpace (Ibn Baja) flourished in his reign. So did the philosophers and scientists, Ibn Tufail and Ibn Rushd (Averroes); the last-named held the post of the *Qadi* of Cordova. The famous observatory at Seville, now called the 'Giralda', was built by Ya'qub after the battle of Alarcos (the ignorant Christian Spaniards converted it into a belfry). Ya'qub al-Mansur was succeeded by his son, Muhammad, who assumed the title of *al-Nasir li Din-Allah*, whose incapacity became the primary cause of the ruin of the Almohad empire, and, with it, of the Muslim cause in Spain.

Pope Innocent III proclaimed a crusade, and Roderiquez, archbishop of Toledo, preached a holy war against the Muslims. The kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Leon and Navarre, all, joined by a host of Crusaders from France, Italy and Germany, marched against the Almohads. The two armies met at a place called *al-Uqab* by the Arabs, and Las Navas de Tolosa by the Spaniards, in July 1212 C.E. The Muslims fought heroically, but were overwhelmed and destroyed to a man. From Seville, al-Nasir escaped to Morocco, where he died broken-hearted in 1214 C.E.

Ibn Tufail of Guadix (near Granada) owes his fame to the first philosophical romance, which Arabic literature can show. Ibn Sina (Avicenna) had already produced a mystical allegory under the title, *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* ('Alive, Son of the Awake'). Its hero was borrowed by Ibn Tufail for his epistemological fantasy. The work, which, two centuries later, was translated into Hebrew and then passed into almost all civilised languages through the medium of Latin, is an eloquent testimony to the freedom with which the reconciliation of mysticism and

philosophy could be striven for under the Almohads. Ibn Tufail himself introduced Ibn Rushd (Averroes) of Cordova at the court of Marrakesh, in 1182 C.E. The principal accomplishments of Ibn Rushd were his commentaries on the works of Aristotle. It was through these commentaries that the Hellenistic philosophy was really opened up to the Occident in the Latin adaptation, begun by Michael Scotus as early as 1230 C.E. In his own writings, Ibn Rushd sought to reconcile the Islamic dogma with the results of philosophy. His position on the questions of the eternity of the world and of the knowledge of God called forth the opposition of the Spanish *fugaha*, as they had earlier condemned Ghazali's book, *Ihya al-'Uloom* ('the Revivification of the Sciences of Religion'), and burnt it publicly in Cordova; just as later in the 13th century C.E., the Christian Church proscribed Ibn Rushd's doctrine. Ibn Rushd's philosophical works, too, were burnt by the Muslim clergy. Ibn Rushd died on December 10, 1198 C.E.

The vast empire of the Almohads, which, like no other Muslim state before, included all of North Africa to the borders of Egypt, as well as Spain, very soon fell into decline under the feeble successors of its founders. The last descendants of the Almohad dynasty were destroyed in the Atlas, in 1275 C.E., by the Beni Marin (1213-1524) dynasty, which, in 1258 C.E., held sway over all that is now known as Morocco. The Wattasi dynasty, which succeeded the Beni Marin, was short-lived (1471-1548). During its reign Granada was conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella 'the Catholic' (1492), followed by the first expulsions of the Moors from Spain (1502), and the first conquests of Spain and Portugal in North Africa (Melilla, Penon de Velez, and all the Atlantic ports, except Sale-Rabat). The Sa'did dynasty (1550-1668) rose in the Dra'a district on the Saharan slope of the Atlas.

Like North Africa as a whole, Morocco is also dominated by the strictly orthodox Sunnite school of Imam Malik. After the last Sa'did was assassinated in 1660, the head of al-Hasani Sharifian clan in Tafilelt, al-Rashid, emerged from among them and gradually eliminated the petty rulers. His brother and successor, Isma'il (1672-1729), created a powerful corps of Negro slaves, who were bound by oath to the canonical work of Bukhari, and, consequently, were known as '*Abid Al-Bukhari*' (Bukher). For almost two centuries (1471-1661), the Portuguese had been in occupation of Tangier. In 1661, Infanta Catherine of Braganza brought Tangier as dowry to her husband, Charles II of England.

The Moroccan constitutional law made an express distinction between *Bilad al-Makhzin* (i.e., the subjugated territory, which paid taxes

and provided troops), and *Bilad al-Siba* (i.e., the independent territory, which was about four or five times as large).

In 1904, after recognising Britain's position in Egypt and granting Spain a more extended zone of influence for her old possessions in the north, France gained their approval of her aims in Morocco. At the Conference in Algeciras (January 15-April 7, 1906), the sovereignty of the Sultan of Morocco was recognised. In 1911, Germany attempted to secure a number of its economic claims by the 'Panther Leap' (i.e., sending the gunboat 'Panther') to Agadir. Germany, eventually, recognised the French protectorate over Morocco, which was definitively regulated by a treaty with the Sultan on November 4, 1912. In 1927, Sultan Muhammad V became the nominal ruler of Morocco.

One more champion of the Moroccan freedom arose in the person of Ghazi 'Abd al-Karim, of Rif in Ajdir on the bay of Alhucemas. He took the field, in 1921, against the Spaniards. After inflicting heavy losses on them, he also attacked the French zone, and was already menacing Fez, when Spain and France united for a common action, to which the Ghazi succumbed in the spring of 1926. The French exiled him to the island of Reunion in the Indian Ocean, where he remained for 21 years. In May 1947, while being transferred to a detention camp in France, he escaped from the ship bringing him through the Suez Canal. King Faruq of Egypt, at the request of the North African leaders, offered him asylum, which he accepted. Ghazi 'Abd al-Karim died at Cairo on February 6, 1963.

The present kingdom of Morocco is, in principle, an absolute monarchy, in which the king exercises the supreme civil and religious authority. On March 2, 1956, France terminated the Treaty of Fez, and relinquished her protectorate; Spain, too, followed suit; and on October 29 was abolished the international status of the Tangier zone. The area of the present independent Morocco is about 172,000 square miles, and her estimated (1966) population is approximately 13 million.

The Qairuwan mosque at Fez was founded in 859 C.E., (a century before the foundation of the al-Azhar mosque in Cairo). The largest mosque in Africa, the Qairuwan soon also became the chief centre of Muslim scholasticism in Africa. It is claimed that, it was at the Qairuwan that Gerbert of Auvergne (930-1003 C. E.), later Pope Sylvester II, first announced the Arabic numerals and the use of the zero, both of which he is sometimes held responsible for having introduced into Europe. The great traveller and chronicler of Africa, Hasan ibn al-Wazzan, known as Leo Africanus (1494-1552), was yet another Qairuwan scholar.

After attaining independence in 1956, the Moroccan State had her first political parties. In the central High Atlas, only the *Istiqlal* was represented. A very able leader of this party was Ben Barka, apart from Allal al-Fasi, who was the supreme leader. As regards the law, Morocco intended to have social life regulated and some kind of a composite judicial bench was envisaged, of which one member was to be an expert on *shari'ah* matters – a *faqih* (Quranic jurist). Thus, the Moroccan law was to be a mixture of the *shari'ah* and the Swiss civil code. The principal towns are: Rabat (capital), Fez, Marrakesh, Casablanca, Meknes, Tetuan, Tangier and Ceuta.

Spain, since November, 1957, became the target of the Moroccan nationalists, who demanded that she hand her Moroccan colonies over to Morocco, i.e., the territories south of Morocco, known as Rio de Oro (or Spanish Sahara), and the enclave of Ifni. The Moroccan nationalists have been anxious to push their frontiers southwards to create 'Greater Morocco', which entails the annexation of the Spanish Saharan colonies and Mauritania, which is now a United Nations' recognized independent country. The Spaniards believed the oil deposits found in Libya and Algeria continued across Mauritania into Rio de Oro, and the American oilmen in Spain confirmed this belief. Spain is now operating in that region in close collaboration with the French.

An African 'Summit Conference' was held in Casablanca in January, 1961, in which the heads of six African States, and the official representatives of the provisional government of Algeria, and of Ceylon participated, the former King Muhammad V of Morocco being the host. Tunisia was prominent by her absence. The Conference issued the 'Casablanca Charter'. King Muhammad V died in February, 1961; his son, Moulay Hassan, succeeded him as King Hassan II, who is his own Prime Minister and the Supreme Commander of the armed forces. In the 'Interim Constitution' of Morocco, passed in June, 1961, Islam was declared as the 'State religion'.

Mehdi Ben Barka was abducted on a Paris street in October, 1965, and was supposed to be killed. This scandal involved both France and Morocco, even the American secret agency of 'C.I.A.' Ben Barka had opposed the autocracy in Morocco, and wanted to replace it by popular democracy.

(6)

THE SUDAN

THERE was little Arab penetration into the Nubian country and the Sudan as a whole until the rise in Egypt of the Bahri Mamluk Sultans, about 1250 C. E. The more southerly Nubian kingdom survived until 1504, when it was overthrown by the invasion of the negroid new-comers from the south, called 'the Funj'. The Funj established the centre of their power at Sennar and thence extended a feudal overlordship across the central and northern Sudan (ancient Kush) westwards to an uncertain frontier in Kordofan, which they contested with the Sultans of Darfur. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the power of the Funj declined. They lost Kordofan to Darfur.

South of the Sahara, from the Senegal to the Upper Nile valley, in the regions inhabited by the Negroes, the so-called Hamites of the Mediterranean race, the Nilotes and the Nubians, Islam had already been spread in the west by Almoravids. As early as the 11th century, the princes of Ghana (Gold Coast), and their vassals – the rulers of the Takrur (Tukulor) as well as the king of Mali (on the Upper Niger) had already been converted to Islam. In the 13th century, Timbuktu was the centre of Islamic culture. It was not until the 18th century that Islamic propaganda received a new impetus, after the Takrur established a theocratic regime in Futa-Jallon, in 1720. In 1776, they subjugated the pagan 'Ful' and introduced Islam to them. The Takrur 'Uthman Dan Fodio converted the powerful Hausa tribe in Northern Nigeria, and, in 1802, founded the Sokoto State. His tribal kinsman, 'Umar, from 1838 on, subdued the major portion of the Sudan, which, at his death in 1864,

recognised Islam as the State religion. After 1890, his successors succumbed to the brutal French colonists.

In the Central Sudan, along Lake Chad, Islam was introduced into Kanem as early as the 11th century, and gained a firm foothold in the 16th century in Bornu and Bagirmi, and in the 17th century in wada'i. In the Eastern Sudan, the Nubians, who had been Christian down to the 7th century C. E., were converted to Islam quite early by way of Egypt. The founder of a new dynasty, Sulaiman, introduced Islam into Darfur in the 16th century; one of his successors subdued Kordofan in the 18th century.

Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah (the Mahdi) entered the *dervish* order, *Samaniyah*, and, in 1870, settled on the Abba isle, in the white Nile. He fell out with his teacher and abandoned the Order. He was fortified in the belief that he was the *Mahdi*, more so by his friend, 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad al-Faqih, later *Khalifah*. He now openly gave himself out as the master of the country, and preached *jihad* against the infidels, including the irreligious Muslims.

Egypt had, meanwhile, been occupied by Britain. The British government sent out General Gordon to Khartoum, where he arrived in February 1884. The *Mahdi* set out against Khartoum, where, in October, he invested the city. Fort Omdurman surrendered in January, 1885, and, the same month, the *Mahdi* stormed the city; Gordon was killed. The *Mahdi* transferred his residence to Khartoum, where he stood at the zenith of his power. In June, 1885, he fell ill and died. The *Mahdi* had confirmed, as his successor, Abu Bakr *Khalifah* 'Abd Allah, to whom all the Mahdists then swore allegiance. 'Abd Allah transferred his residence to Omdurman. The *Khalifah* sent out a big army to Abyssinia. Ras Adal, governor of Amhara, first advanced in the plain of Debra-Sin, and was crushingly defeated, whereupon the Mahdists marched against the-then capital of Abyssinia, Gonder, burned it, and returned to Gallabat.

In 1889, Emperor John of Ethiopia decided to avenge this disgrace and assembled his entire army, with which he marched on Gallabat, where he was wounded and died. After these victories, the *Khalifah* decided to embark on the conquest of Egypt, already planned by the *Mahdi*. In May, 1889, he sent out an army. Al-Toski, the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, advanced against the Sudanese and completely destroyed them.

In 1894, the Italians attacked Kassala; but Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia prevented their further advance. The bloody defeat he inflicted

on them at Adowa in March, 1896, also eliminated any further danger from this quarter for the Mahdists.

In 1896, Kitchener, commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, was ordered to undertake a campaign into the Sudan. In a bloody battle (September, 1898) at Omdurman, the *Khalifah* was overthrown, and later killed by General Wingate's army near Gedid in November, 1899. But this disaster failed to bring about the extinction of the Mahdist ideas. Kitchener will always be condemned in history for his inhuman and uncivilised act of mean vengeance against the *Mahdi*, when he ordered the latter's grave to be dug out and his dead body desecrated.

In July, 1898, when the Mahdi State in the Sudan succumbed in the struggle with Britain, the French Major Marchand advanced into the Fashoda territory of the Shilluk, subjugated by the *Mahdi's Khalifah*, in 1890; but, in September, he had to retreat before Kitchener, and, after lengthy negotiations, Fashoda was incorporated in the Sudan in December. In 1904, after the conclusion of the 'Entente', the ill-omened name of Fashoda was changed to Kodok in order to eradicate the memory of this conflict between the two Western colonial powers.

The period from 1899 to 1924 saw the successful accomplishment of the fundamental steps in the construction of a progressive country on a modern pattern.

The period from 1924 until the outbreak of the second world war in 1939 was one of accelerated progress and development. This period was also marked by the conclusion, in 1936, of an Anglo-Egyptian treaty, which re-asserted the Condominium status of the Sudan.

After the *coup d'état* of July, 1952, which brought the army into power in Egypt, the new Egyptian government decided that the Sudanese should have self-determination and that sovereignty should be reserved for them. In February, 1953, an agreement, providing for self-government for the Sudan and self-determination within three years, was signed through the efforts of Gen. Muhammad Naguib by both Egypt and Britain in Cairo. An international commission, with a Pakistani chairman (Mian Ziauddin), remained during the whole period of self-government. In January, 1954, Isma'il al-Azhari was elected the first prime minister of the Sudan.

The main element in the geography of the Sudan, as in that of Egypt, is the river Nile, with its extensive tributaries—the Atbara, Blue Nile and Sobat. Between Khartoum and Wadi Halfa, which lies on the

Sudan-Egyptian frontier, occur four cataracts (or rapids), formed by resistant bands of rock in the bed of the stream. There are in all five such cataracts, the other lying near Aswan in Egypt. The Nile has a total length of 4,160 miles, and is, after Mississippi (4,518 m.), the second longest river in the world.

The fringe of the Arab world is reached in the southern Sudan. These southern Hamitic (negroid) peoples of the Sudan are amongst the darkest of the peoples in the world. The majority of the Sudanese are vigorous followers of Islam, but some communities in the south remain untouched by Islam, and practise animism (or fertility worship). The followers of the more orthodox Mirghani sect regard the Mahdists as heretical. The future of the Sudan is bound up with the internal problem of the non-Muslim (southern) minority. The population of the six northern provinces is almost entirely Muslim (Sunni). In the three southern provinces, there are a certain number of Christians and Muslims, but the majority is pagan. The Muslim Sudanese follow the code of Imam Abu Hanifah, with modifications from the Maliki sources, but that of Imam Malik is followed in personal rites. Numerous Christian missions have, for long, been feverishly busy in evangelising the southern pagan Sudanese.

The 3-year transitional period lasted for two years only, culminating in the declaration of independence of the Sudan on January 1, 1956. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 was declared terminated by the two governments of Britain and Egypt in 'Article 2' of the 'Suez Canal Base Agreement' of October 19, 1954. In January, 1954, the first all-Sudanese government was formed, and the Sudanisation of the country was completed by December, the same year.

Extending southwards from the frontier of Egypt to Uganda and the Congo (Leopoldville)—a distance of about 1,650 miles, and stretching from the Red Sea to the confines of Wada'i in central Africa—the Sudan has an area of 967,541 square miles; her estimated (1966) population is over 13 million, the Muslim population being about 10 million.

The National Unionist Party, which was founded in 192 by a coalition of the Ashigga and other subsidiary parties that favoured link with Egypt, was headed by Isma'il al-Azhari. The Ummah (People's Party) demanded complete independence of, but close relations with, both Britain and Egypt, and was supported by Sir 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi.

The principal towns of the Sudan are: Khartoum (capital), Omdurman, Kassala, al-Fasher, al-Obeid, and Port Sudan. Sudan is a

member of the Arab League; she became a member of the United Nations on November 12, 1956. In March, 1958, the Sudanese parliament re-elected 'Abd Allah Bey Khalil (of the Ummah Party) the Prime Minister of the Sudan. Sudan's Commander-in-Chief, General Ibrahim Abboud, seized power from Premier 'Abd Allah Khalil in November, 1958, in a bloodless military coup; General Abboud belonged to the *Khatmiyah* sect. Final agreement on all the pending problems between the Sudan and the United Arab Republic (Egypt) was reached in Cairo in November, 1959. The present leader of the influential *Ansar* sect in the Sudan is Siddiq 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi.

The southern pagan Sudanese number about 2½ million, many of whom have been converted to Christianity. The British had blocked conversion of the pagan southerners to Islam, and the whole southern area of the Sudan was closed off by the British like a secret enclave.

The Sudan has skilfully kept clear of inter Arab and inter-African rivalries. The relations with the U.A.R. have been normalised, particularly, the problem of the controversial Aswan High Dam has been mutually settled amicably. Imperial Britain prevented the cultural and social integration of the Sudan; stress was placed on the North described as Arab and Muslim, and completely isolated from the South, which was labelled African and pagan. Southern Sudan was turned by the British into the 'Christian missionaries' preserve'. Though the South could not completely be evangelised, the Christian missionaries made it fashionable to divide the country mentally into the Muslim North and the Pagan-Christian South. The missionaries even went so far as to incite the southerners to revolt against the authorities of the country. Therefore, the Sudanese government was obliged to pass a 'Missionary Societies Act', which regulated the activities of Christian missionary societies in the Sudan. In February, 1964, the Sudanese government ordered all foreign Christian missionaries to leave southern Sudan; in March, the government issued a 'Black Paper', alleging crimes by foreign missionaries in southern Sudan, and requested other African countries to ban their entry in the interest of their independence and sovereignty.

In October, 1964, General Ibrahim Abboud's military regime came to an end. In May, 1965, the rightist al Ummah Party pulled off a surprise election victory in the Sudan, where Communists failed to win a single seat; in June, the Sudanese Supreme Council of State accepted the resignation of Prime Minister Serr al-Khatim Khalifah's government, which was replaced by a Sudanese coalition government. The coalition was formed by the two major parties, al-Ummah and National Unionists,

and elected former foreign minister, Muhammad Ahmad Mahgoub, as Prime Minister. It also elected Isma'il al-Azhari, a former Prime Minister and the Unionist party leader, as President of a five-man Supreme Council. The Council has acted as the Head of State since President Ibrahim Abboud resigned in October, 1964. Southern Secessionist leader, William Deng, head of the 'Sudan African National Union' (SANU), which has been demanding independence for the three southern provinces to be formed into a separate state—Anzania—was reported in late 1965 to be heading for an all-out decisive confrontation with the central authorities. This anti-Sudanese and anti-Muslim movement is supported both by Western foreign elements, Ethiopia and the Congo.

On July 28, 1966, the Sudanese constituent assembly elected Sayed Sadiq al-Mahdi as the new Prime Minister of the Sudan.

(7)

SOMALIA

SOMALILAND is a large country in East Africa, inhabited by the Somalis. Somaliland was divided into : (1) French Somaliland (still a French colony), officially known as *Cote Francaise des Somalis* (area : 9,071 square miles, the capital is Jibouti; (2) Former British Somaliland, now in the Somali Republic (area: 68,000 square miles), the capital was Hargeisa, and Berbera was the former capital and port; (3) Former Italian Somaliland (area: 225,000 square miles, now in the Somali Republic, the capital is Mogadiscio (Maqdishu); (4) Former Italian Oltre-Giuba, beyond the Juba river (area : 25,000 square miles); this territory was 'granted' by Britain to Italy under the treaty of July 15, 1924; the capital was Kismayu; but, in 1926, it was annexed to the former colony of Italian Somalia (now in the Somali Republic); (5) Abyssinian Somaliland, i.e., Ogaden; and (6) In Kenya, the districts of Tanaland and Northern Frontier, and that portion of the late Jubaland that was not granted to Italy, which have a Somali nomadic population.

The native local traditions have Islamicised Somali history by tracing their origin from 'Aqil bin Abi Talib, cousin of the Prophet of Islam. The zone along the seashore has been, for many centuries, in close commercial relations with Arabia. Results of the Arab colonization on the Somali coast were the two little states of Zaila and Maqdishu, formed and ruled generally by local dynasties of Somalised Arabs (or Somalis), strongly influenced by Arabic culture.

The kingdom of Zaila, which was prospering from the 14th century C.E., could live and thrive on account of the trade of the inland, where it was supported by many Muslim states of southern Abyssinia,

till its strength exhausted during the great war fought against Abyssinia under the command of Gran. Maqdishu, however, had only a short period of prosperity in the 14th century C. E., then almost rapidly began its decline. Somaliland remained independent till the end of the 19th century, when France and Britain (in 1884) and Italy (in 1889) usurped and partitioned the country among themselves. The Somali people are all Muslims and follow the rites of Imam Shafa'i. In spite of the rule of the Imam of Muscat and that of the Sultans of Zanzibar, there has not been any vestige of *Ibadism* (kharijism) on the Somali coast.

Somaliland is sometimes called the 'Eastern Horn of Africa', as it projects sharply into the Indian Ocean. The total area of Somalia is about 468,000 square miles. It is partitioned as under:

		Square miles
Abyssinian Somaliland	... ..	130,000
Jubaland under Kenya	... ..	36,000
French Somaliland	... ..	9,000
		<hr/>
Total under alien rule	... ..	175,000
		<hr/>
Former Italian Somaliland	... ..	225,000
Former British Somaliland		68,000
		<hr/>
Total of present Somali Republic	... ..	293,000
		<hr/>
Grand total	... ..	468,000

The Somalis belong to the eastern (Ethiopic) Hamitic family of tribes, of which the other chief members are the neighbouring Galla and Afar, the Abyssinian Agau and the Beja tribes, between the Nubian Nile and the Red Sea. The Somalis, however, declare themselves to be of the Arab origin, alleging their progenitor to have been a certain Sharif Ishaq bin Ahmad, who crossed from Hadhramaut with his followers about the 13th century C. E. Other traditions trace their origin to the Himyaritic chiefs, Sanhaj and Samamah, said to have been coeval with a king Afrikus, who is supposed to have conquered Africa about 400 C. E. The present Somali peoples are not pure Hamites, but mixed with Arabs, Abyssinians and Negroes. They are a race of magnificent physique—tall, active and robust. The Somalis are a fighting race.

The Arab Sultanate of Zaila was founded by the Quraishite immigrants from Yemen in, perhaps, the 7th century C. E. In the 13th century,

it had become a powerful State, known as the empire of Adel. In the 16th century, its capital was transferred to Harrar. Zaila became a dependency of Yemen and thus nominally a part of the Turkish Empire.

In 1899, Muhammad bin 'Abd Allah Hasan, who had acquired great influence in the Dulbahanta territory, gathered a strong following around him. He began raiding tribes friendly to the British, and declared himself the *Mahdi*. He was called 'the Mad *Mulla*' by his enemies, but he was neither mad nor *Mulla*. Operations against him were undertaken in 1900-01 by Col. (Sir) E. J. E. Swayne (pronounced "Swine" by the Somalis), in which "Swine" was worsted. The great Somali warrior and patriot again defeated disgracefully the combined British, Boer, Italian, Abyssinian, Indian and African troops under Gen. W. H. Manning in 1903. Like the *Mahdi* of the Sudan, the *Mahdi* of Somalia wanted to liberate his country from the foreign yoke. The Somali *Mahdi* was born about 1865 in the Dulbahanta region. While in Mecca, he was appointed *Khalifah* of the *Salihyiah tariqah* in Somalia in 1895. The British got Shaikh Muhammad Salih, in whose name he was propagating his doctrines, to repudiate him, which was done in 1909. In 1920, Col. Sir Gerald Summers destroyed the entire *dervish* force; the *Mahdi* died at Imi (Abyssinian Somaliland) in January, 1921.

Cape Guardafui forms the tip of the Eastern Horn of Africa. Rounding Guardafui, the coast trends southward, and some 90 miles from that cape is Ras Hafun (or Medudda)—the most easterly point in the Continent of Africa.

On December 2, 1950, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the Trusteeship Agreement for the former Italian Somalia; the 10-year period of Trusteeship Administration for Italy, fixed by the United Nations, began from that date. In February 1955, in spite of protests by the Somalis, the southern protectorate territories of the Haud and the 'Reserved Area' were handed over to Ethiopia by Britain. The Somalis demand the amalgamation of the present Somali Republic with the other territories inhabited by the Somalis, viz., the French Somaliland, 'N.F.D.' of Kenya, and Ethiopian Somaliland.

General elections—the first held under universal suffrage—took place in Somalia in March, 1959, for the Constituent Assembly of the independent republic of Somalia. The Somali Youth League won overwhelmingly. Britain agreed to the independence of her part of the Somaliland in June, 1960, which was opposed by Emperor Haile Sellasie and his

government of Ethiopia. The independent sovereign Somali Republic, formed by the unification of the former British and Italian-administered territories, came officially into existence on July 1, 1960. The new country has an area of about 293,000 square miles, and an estimated (1966) population of over 2,800,000 (all Muslims). There are still over half-a-million Muslim Somalis in the Ogaden province of Ethiopia, about 50,000 in French Somaliland, and over 100,000 in the north-eastern frontier province of Kenya.

The Security Council approved the application for membership to the United Nations of the Republic of Somalia on July 5, 1960. The same month, President Adan 'Abdullah 'Uthman appointed Dr. 'Abdel Rashid 'Ali Shermarke the Prime Minister of Somalia.

The *Qadiriyyah* was the first Order to be introduced by Yemenite and Hadhramaut immigrants into training centres such as Masawwa, Zaila and Maqdishu, and thoroughly established itself in the coastal regions. It is strong in the Harrar region and in Eritrea. It spread in the interior of Somalia in 1819. The founder of the *Qadiriyyah tariqah* was Sayyid 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (1077-1166 C.E.).

The re-awakening of the Islamic propaganda force of these *Sufi tariqahs* goes back mainly to a remarkable man, Sayyid Ahmad bin Idris al-Fasi (1760-1837), who acquired great fame in Mecca and became the teacher of a number of men, who branched out into new *Sufi* Orders. The ideals and aspirations of these religious leaders diverged considerably, but they were all inspired to ardent Islamic missionary zeal, and pushed their *tariqahs* into Muslim and pagan Africa. The most famous of his pupils was Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi (1787-1859) of Cyrenaica. Sayyid Ahmad's *tariqah*—*Ahmadiyyah*—was spread in Somaliland chiefly by Shaikh 'Ali Maye Durogha (d. Merca, 1917). Al-Fasi died at Sabya in 'Asir, in 1837. *Ahmadiyyah* Order was brought to East Africa about 1870.

Another of al-Fasi's pupils was Ibrahim al-Rashid (d. 1874), founder of the *Rashidiyyah tariqah*. Ibrahim's nephew, Muhammad ibn Salih (d. 1919), in 1887, branched out into a derivative *tariqah*, the *Salihdiyyah*, with its seat at Mecca, which became very influential in Somalia through the preaching of his Somali pupil, Shaikh Muhammad Guled al-Rashidi (d. 1918). The Somali *Mahdi* belonged to the *Salihdiyyah* Order, which is strong in the Ogaden and Dulbahanta regions.

The founder of the *Rahmaniyyah* Order, a branch of the *Darqawiyyah* Order, Muhāmmad bin Muhammad b. Mas'ud b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-

Fasi (d. 1878), built a *Zawiyah* at Mecca in 1857, and afterwards preached along the coast of the Red Sea. Other Orders of minor importance are: the *Shadhiliyyah* Order, which has *Zawiyahs* in Masawwa and Asmara; the *Rifa'iyyah* Order among the Arabs of Somalia; while some of the Ad-Shaikh and Arab immigrants in Eritrea belong to the *Haddadiyyah* Order, which was imported from the Hadhramaut.

The founder of the *Mirghaniyyah* (or *Khatamiyyah*) Order, Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani (1793-1853), was sent by his master, Sayyid Ahmad bin Idris al-Fasi into Egypt and the Sudan, in 1817. After his master's death, he set up his own Order, and sent out his sons to preach. During the revolt of the *Mahdi* in the Sudan, the *Mirghaniyyah* followers opposed the Mahdist *dervishes*. The *Mirghaniyyah* Order is strong in eastern Sudan, Eritrea, Kassala, Masawwa and Addis Ababa. Sayyid Hashim al-Mirghani (d. 1899) had two missionary daughters: Sharifah 'Alawiyyah (d. 1940), who preached at Keren (Eritrea), and Sharifah Maryam, who lived at Sinkat and preached in the Red Sea hills.

The *Tijaniyyah* Order was founded in 1781 by Ahmad bin Muhammad b. al-Mukhtar al-Tijani, and became popular in western Sudan. This Order came here from southern Oran (Algeria). The *Samaniyyah* Order is an off-shoot of the *Khalwatiyyah*. It was founded by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Sammani (1718-75), which was introduced into the Sudan by Shaikh al-Bashir (d. 1823), from where it was brought to Eritrea and south-west Ethiopia, and where its centre is at Gondar.

Relations between Somalia and Ethiopia are strained because the latter country is forcibly occupying parts of Somaliland. The other African Muslim countries are rendering no assistance to Samalia in this respect against Ethiopia.

ZIONISM AND ISRAEL IN PALESTINE

THE length of Palestine is 160 miles, and its greatest width is not more than seventy. Its 10,000 square miles are largely desert and rocky hills; a small part only is fertile land. Clearly, there was no room in this diminutive country for the introduction of a new people upon those already established there.

The Hebrew tribes entered Palestine from Mesopotamia and are associated with the name of Prophet Abraham. In the 14th century B.C., Palestine had been inhabited for about 2,000 years by the Canaanites, after whom the country was named 'Canaan' (*Kan'an*). The Canaanites called the Hebrews *Habiru*, an old Babylonian term, meaning 'nomad, bandit or mercenary', from which the word 'Hebrew' is derived. Shortly after the Hebrews arrived in Canaan, the 'Philistines', being pushed out of their islands in the Aegean Sea by the influx of the Greeks, settled on the Canaanite coast, to which they gave their name, Palestine.

The Hebrew kingdom was established about 1,000 B.C. Jerusalem was conquered from the Jebusites by 'King' David. At the end of 'King' Solomon's reign, it ceased to be the capital of a united Israel. After his death, the kingdom broke in two: (1) Judah, in the Judaean hills; and (2) Israel, in Samaria. In 722 B.C., Sargon, the Assyrian, conquered Samaria, the northern kingdom. Israelites were deported to Babylonia. The kingdom of Judah fell to the Chaldaean king, Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple in 586 B.C.

Towards the end of the 4th century B.C., Alexander the Great defeated the Persians and inherited their empire. After his death, Pales-

tine came under the Seleucids, a Hellenistic dynasty, who succeeded to the Asiatic part of Alexander's empire. The Maccabaeen revolt, inspired by religious and nationalist feelings, broke out during the 2nd. century B.C., and a Jewish state was set up as a reaction against Hellenism.

When the Seleucids were succeeded by the Romans, Palestine, with the rest of Syria, passed under Roman rule. It was constituted a subject kingdom under Herod, an Idumaean Jew. The Jews were only a part of the population; Samaritans and pagans shared the country with them. A revolt of the Jews against the Romans resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in 70 C.E., which marked the end of the Jewish state. Jewish nationalism ceased until it was revived by the modern Zionists.

When Palestine became an Arab country in the 7th century C.E., it had long ceased to be Jewish. Not only had the Jewish state been relegated to history since the first century C.E., but also the Jewish religion itself had few adherents among the inhabitants, who were predominantly Christian. Racially, they were descended from the ancient inhabitants of Palestine—Canaanites, Philistines and Edomites, etc. The Arabs intermarried with this indigenous population, and Palestine became Arab not merely by conquest but also by assimilation. Under the Arabs, as under the Romans and earlier rulers, Palestine was not a separate state, but part of a regional unit. During the Crusades, too, which lasted over two centuries, the basic character of the country was not changed, even when Palestine, along with the rest of Syria and the other Arab lands, passed under the domination of the Ottoman Turks early in the 16th century.

A few scattered Jewish communities continued to live in Palestine after the country had become Arab. Then the principal Jewish centre was Galilee. The religious centre of Judaism, however, had been transferred to Mesopotamia several centuries before Islam. There it remained when that country—known to the Arabs as Iraq—became part of the Muslim-Arab empire. Later, in the Middle Ages, it was transferred to Spain, another country under Arab rule in those days. In modern times, eastern Europe, which, until the end of the 19th century, had the largest concentration of Jews, was the Jewish religious centre.

When the Jews were expelled from Spain at the end of the 15th century, only a few of them found their way to Palestine. Many settled in the other Arab countries, North Africa, Egypt and Yemen. Some went to Europe, especially Holland and Germany. A large number found refuge in Salonica, then a part of the Ottoman Empire. In the first half

of the 19th century, only about 8,000 Jews lived in Palestine. When the West entered Palestine in 1917, this ancient land had been under Muslim rule for more than twelve centuries.

Zionism, in its spiritual meaning—"the messianic hope of Judaism"—is as old as Judaism itself. However, Zionism, as a political movement, with the ultimate aim of creating a national state in Palestine, is a relatively recent development. It had its beginnings in the writings of Leo Pinsker in the 80's of the last century. Subsequently, Ahad Ha'am and later Theodore Herzl were its philosophical and most active exponents. Therefore, from 1906 on the World Zionist Organization worked for the establishment of a national Jewish state in Palestine. In January 1916, an international conference of Zionist leaders appointed a political committee made up of the leading members of the World Zionist Organization. Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, Ahad Ha'am, Vladimir Jabotinsky, Herbert Bentwich and Louis D. Brandeis were among the members.

The 'McMahon Correspondence' began on July 14, 1915, and continued until January 30, 1916. In this correspondence, Britain undertook to recognize and uphold the independence of the Arab countries. Negotiations between Britain and the Arabs had scarcely ended when Britain, France and Czarist Russia, true to their traditional European deceit and treachery, opened discussions on the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and a division of the spoils. It is known as the 'Sykes-Picot Agreement', which was concluded in London on May 16, 1916.

Britain entered into yet another commitment, which conflicted with both her previous pledges. This third pledge was the often-cited 'Balfour Declaration'. In order to gain the support of world Jewry in the war effort, the British government issued a statement of her policy towards the problem of the Zionist interest in Palestine, which was against the Arabs, and conveyed it in a letter by Lord Balfour to Lord Rothschild on November 2, 1917. The Statement, destined to become historic, is known as the 'Balfour Declaration'.

Thus, Palestine was promised a third time. First, to the Arabs as part of their Arab kingdom; then, not only Palestine but the whole Arab East was parcelled out among the conquerors before they had conquered it, taking it away from those with whose active participation they were hoping to win it; and, finally, Palestine was promised to the Jews for the establishment of a "Jewish National Home". The stage was set thereby for a tragedy of which the last chapter is still to be written. On December 9, 1917, General Sir Edmund Allenby made his historic entry into Jerusalem,

proudly (though shamelessly) proclaiming: "We have come not as conquerors, but as deliverers." The British have undoubtedly carved out for themselves the unenviable name of "historic and international cheats."

In November, 1918, at the end of World War I, the British were in military control of Palestine, the larger part of Syria, and the whole of Mesopotamia, later called Iraq. As the British and French were not inclined to give independence to the Arabs, the idea of 'Mandates' was convenient enough to divide the Arab world and place the different segments under British or French tutelage according to a pre-conceived plan. The King-Crane Commission's report on Palestine was published on August 28, 1919. England and France continued with their plans to break up the unity of the Arab world. The decisions taken by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers on April 25, 1920, at San Remo, spelled disaster for the Arabs.

Syria was to be broken up into three separate entities: Palestine, the Lebanon, and a "reduced" Syria, consisting of what was left. Iraq was to remain undivided. The Mandates were distributed to suit the interests of England and France. Syria and Lebanon were given to France; Palestine, including Transjordan, and Iraq went to Britain. The Arabs were completely disillusioned and betrayed. They had wanted independence from the Turkish rule, but, instead, fell prey to European wolves.

In 1923, Transjordan was recognized with the approval of the League of Nations as an autonomous state under mandatory jurisdiction. The mandate for Palestine, issued on July 24, 1922, was given to Britain. It became legally effective upon the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, September 29, 1923. In April, 1920, the first anti-Zionist riots broke out in Jerusalem, and, a year later, more serious disorders occurred, especially around Jaffa. In 1921, Sir Winston Churchill, then the British Colonial Secretary, went to the Middle East to gather first-hand information. In 1922, the 'Churchill White Paper' was issued, which reaffirmed the 'Balfour Declaration'. Both the Zionists and the Arabs rejected it, with their own reasons.

In February, 1931, British Prime Minister MacDonald wrote a letter to Dr. Chaim Weizmann designed to allay the Zionists' fears regarding Jewish immigration into Palestine and the further acquisition of its land by them. The Arabs proclaimed Premier MacDonald's letter as the "Black Letter". They felt that they had again been betrayed, and their confidence in the British administration continued to decline. Resentment against the British exploded in unrest and rioting in 1933, which were continued in the period, 1936-39. On April 25, 1936, an Arab Higher

Committee was formed under the presidency of the Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husaini. Thousands of Arabs were killed during the riots. When the strike was called off in the autumn of 1936, a Royal Commission, headed by Lord Peel, visited Palestine.

The 'Peel Commission' recommended that the British government take steps to terminate the Mandate, and to partition the country in an Arab and a Jewish State in Palestine. The British government issued a White Paper, in which it announced its acceptance of the recommendations of the 'Peel Commission', including partition. A Pan-Arab Congress was held in September, 1937, at Bloudan (Syria), which declared categorically that, "Palestine was Arab and its preservation as such was the duty of every Arab". The Report of the Peel Commission was rejected, in particular, the proposal for partition.

Soon after the Bloudan Conference, the Arab rebellion broke out and continued in various degrees almost to the beginning of World War II. The British appointed a new commission to work out detailed plans for the proposed Jewish and Arab areas, known as the 'Woodhead Commission'. Its report was published in October, 1938, which recommended division of the country into three separate units: an Arab and a Jewish unit, and areas not assigned to either, which were to remain under the direct control of the mandatory power.

In 1907, the various local groups of Jewish guardsmen had formed in Palestine an organization of their own, called *Hashomer*. After World War I, Jewish soldiers, who returned to Palestine, called for the formation of a Jewish defence corps composed of all able-bodied Palestinian Jews. When formed, it was known as the *Haganah*—the Hebrew word for defence. *Hashomer* was an elite guard, *Haganah*, the militia of Palestine Jewry. When the British mandate began to function, *Haganah* remained clandestinely active as a private police and military organization, kept arms illegally, and maintained training centres. These activities were financed by the 'Jewish Agency' and the *Histadrut*—the Jewish labour organization.

Another semi-military organization was the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* ('Organization of the National Army'). It was the fighting arm of the 'Revisionist Party', well-organized and fanatically nationalistic. The 'Revisionists', later known as the 'Herut Party', did not and do not accept a partition of Palestine (or a "truncated Israel"), but claim the whole of Palestine, including the Jordan, as the rightful territory of 'Israel'. An even more extremist organization, the 'Stern Group', whose members

called themselves "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel", was an all-out-terrorist organization. It is evident that the *Yishuv* had become a well-organized community during the period between the two world wars.

In May, 1942, the Zionists, better organized and more articulate than other Jewish groups, called an extraordinary conference at the Hotel Biltmore in New York City, during which the Zionist programme was reformulated and has since become known as the "Biltmore Programme." The 'Biltmore Programme' demanded that the 'Jewish Agency' be given the necessary authority to build up the country. It demanded that Palestine be established as a "Jewish Commonwealth". In summary, the 'Biltmore Programme' called for a completely independent Jewish state, having its own army, flag, and administration; it became the generally accepted programme of world Zionism. As a result of the 'Biltmore Conference', Zionist propaganda became increasingly active in the United States of America. The 'Zionist Organization of America' began to press strongly for the fulfilment of the 'Biltmore Programme'.

In 1942, the 'Stern Group' began to organize raids on British army depots in order to obtain arms and ammunition; *Haganah* also joined them later on. On November 16, 1944, Lord Moyne, the British Minister of State in the Middle East (who was known to be opposed to Zionist demands), was assassinated by a Zionist in Cairo. The *Irgun* was equally active with *Haganah* and 'Stern Group'. In May, 1945, when 'V-Day' in Europe made the world breathe more easily, 'D-Day' began in Palestine. The assault forces of the *Irgun*, *Haganah* and 'Stern Group' played havoc in the country. Meanwhile, large sums were being collected in the United States to provide these Jewish terrorists in Palestine with weapons and ammunition.

On March 22, 1946, a treaty was signed between Britain and Transjordan (now the Hashimite Kingdom of the Jordan), terminating the British mandate. On April 28, 1947, the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations convened at Lake Success to consider Palestine. A committee was appointed to investigate the situation and report to the second regular session of the General Assembly in September, 1947. During this period and during the following United Nations sessions, Zionist pressures were increasingly exercised. The Arabs had almost no voice at all in the United States. Warnings by United States diplomatic officers, familiar with the Middle East, were ignored by Washington.

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was not able to present a unanimous report. A majority report proposed

partition, but a minority report suggested a single state with a federal structure. The General Assembly designated an Ad-Hoc Committee to consider the two suggestions. Finally, a partition scheme was presented, which assigned western Galilee, including Nazareth, to the Arabs; eastern Galilee, the Lake Tiberias region, the Beisan area to the Jews; Samaria and the mountainous part of the country, Ramleh and Lydda and the area as far south as Beersheba, to the Arabs; Haifa and the coastal region, as far south as Isdud, as well as the whole district south of Beersheba, generally called the Negev, to the tip of the Gulf of Aqaba, to the Jews. The Arabs could further retain slightly more than what later became known as the 'Gaza Strip', with an unbroken connection to the El-Auja district. Jerusalem, including Bethlehem, was to be internationalized.

According to this ingenious partition plan, about 10,000 Jews were to be left in the Arab state, but about 497,000 Arabs in the Jewish state. About 43 percent of the area of Palestine was assigned to the Arab state, and 56 per cent to the Jewish state, and about one percent to the international area. Until then, the Jews had obtained by purchase about six percent of the area of Palestine, and constituted about one-third of its total population of 1,800,000. Seldom was a deliberation less deliberated. When the decisive vote was finally taken, on November 29, 1947, the partition was accepted by a vote of 33 to 13, with 10 abstentions and one absent. Not only Liberia had shifted her vote, but also Haiti and the Philippines, who, only 24 hours before, had fiercely attacked the majority proposal for partition. The pressures exerted on these states and others are described in detail in Alfred M. Lilienthal's book, *What Price Israel* (pp. 48-73). Both the United States and Soviet Russia voted for partition.

The United Nations resolution on the partition of Palestine started the war in the country. In Palestine, fighting between Arabs and Jews began in earnest, with the British hovering as a threatening force in the background. In December, 1947, the Arab League approved of armed irregular intervention and called for volunteers for the 'Arab National Army'. A training centre was set up in Damascus and Fawzi al-Kawakji (who had a better reputation than he deserved) was chosen as leader of the irregulars. At the height of its strength, this irregular army had hardly 5,500 men in Palestine.

The Jews mobilized *Haganah*; the *Irgun* and the 'Stern Group' now directed all of their activities against the Arabs, abiding by their ideology of ruthless terrorism and barbarism. It is the sorry tale of blow and counter-blow, retaliation and counter-retaliation. During this operation,

the shocking massacre at Deir Yassin village took place on April 10, 1948. Deir Yassin will never be forgotten by the Arabs. This inhuman massacre of innocent Muslim civilians struck panic into the hearts of the Arab villagers, and a large scale exodus began, as was aimed by the Jews. Battles took place between November 29, 1947, and May 14, 1948, the period between the dates of the passing of the partition resolution at the United Nations and its enforcement in Palestine. This fighting went on while the British mandate was officially still in force.

In Palestine, British rule was due to dissolve officially at midnight on May 14, 1948. It was a Friday, and eight hours before midnight, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, before the Sabbath began, Ben-Gurion read the Proclamation of Independence of the Jewish nation as a state to be called 'Israel'. This Proclamation at once became a Bill of Jewish Rights. About thirty minutes later, exactly eleven minutes after 'Israel' had been proclaimed a state, Charlie Ross, President Truman's press secretary, handed the press the announcement of the *de facto* recognition by the United States of the provisional government of 'Israel'. Shortly afterwards, the Russians followed suit, and "with the two most powerful nations declared as Israel's friends, Ben-Gurion went confidently to drive the enemy from his frontiers." The next morning, on May 15, an Egyptian plane appeared over Tel Aviv and dropped a number of bombs. Thus, the new state of 'Israel' was born in war (750,000 Israelis against over 50,000,000 Arabs). Now (1966), there are an estimated number of over two million Jews in 'Israel', and over 85 million Arabs in the entire Arab world.

The nominal strength of the Egyptian army, in 1948, was 50,000 men, but this was "on paper" only. The Egyptians were hard pressed to raise 10,000 men for the original invasion forces in May. The famous 'Arab Legion' in Jordan, under the command of (British) Glubb Pasha, consisted of 6,000 men. They were the best organized and trained group the Arabs could bring into the field. Syria had become independent in 1946 and was in the process of building and organizing her own army. In May, 1948, this Syrian army numbered 7,000 men, but the only effective force was one mechanized brigade. The situation in Lebanon was similar to the one in Syria. Lebanon, too, had achieved independence in 1946. Her armed strength was about 3,500 only. In Iraq, about 21,000 men were under arms in May, 1948. Saudi Arabia was without a modern trained army. Yemen had no military force of any significance, while the other Arab countries in North Africa—Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco—were in no position politically to participate in this vital Arab cause.

Thus, in May, 1948, the combined Arab forces of the Arab League nations numbered nominally about 47,500 men. This number, however, was by no means available for the fighting in Palestine. Besides these regular forces, the Irregulars of the 'Arab Liberation Army' under Kawakji numbered about 5,600 men, but both their morale and fighting strength were low and unsatisfactory.

With the birth of the state of Israel, *Haganah* became the official army of Israel; it was close to 80,000 men, with about 20,000 men, who had combat experience in World War II. The *corps d'elite*, the *Palmach* (over 3,000 men) was included in this figure. They also had a small air squadron of about 25 planes. The *Irgun* had about a thousand active members and over 3,000 active supporters. The 'Stern Group' had 500 active members and over 2,000 supporters. Within ten days of the start of war, guns and aircrafts for the Jews came from Europe in spite of the (ineffective) blockade of the Israeli coast by Egyptian ships. But, even before that, the Arabs displayed neither fighting spirit nor co-ordinated strategy. The first truce came into effect on June 11, 1948. When hostilities started again, 'Israel' was well prepared with Czechoslovakian guns and ammunition, American flying fortresses and British Beau-fighters.

Meanwhile, Count Bernadotte of Sweden, the truce mediator sent by the United Nations, worked diligently to change the cease-fire into an armistice. His proposals were, however, rejected by Israelis and Arabs alike. The first truce came to an end on July 9, 1948, and a ten-day period of heavy fighting followed. On July 18, the fighting was stopped by a decree of the United Nations. When hostilities stopped, the fighting line froze into the demarcation line, which has become the cause of endless trouble ever since, separating villages from their wells, fields and orchards; even running through the main streets of villages, separating fathers from sons and brothers from brothers.

On July 26, 1948, eight days after the second truce, the Israeli government declared the New City of Jerusalem "Israeli-occupied territory", and appointed there a military governor. Count Bernadotte's popularity in Israel was never very high, and when he was felled by an Israeli assassin's bullet in Israeli-held Jerusalem, on September 17, 1948, no action was taken by the Israeli authorities, and the assassin was never caught. It was the work of the 'Stern Group'.

The uneasy truce lingered on. Then the Israelis launched two successful offensives: one, against the Egyptians in the south (Negev), and the other against Kawakji's 'Arab Liberation Force' in northern Galilee in September-October, 1948. 'Israel' was able to enlarge her territorial

area almost 22 percent beyond the area originally assigned to the Jewish state in the Palestine partition proposals. According to the partition plan:

The Arab state was to have 2,897,469 acres—42.88%.

The Jewish state was to have 3,815,412 acres—56.47%.

Jerusalem (International Zone) 43,876 acres—0.65%.

As a result of the armistice agreements :

Arab part of Palestine = 1,438,750 acres — 21.30%

State of 'Israel' = 5,230,505 acres — 77.40%

Gaza Strip = 87,500 acres — 1.30%

A separate armistice agreement was signed by 'Israel' with each of the Arab states (Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Syria). The Armistice did not bring pacification. It has resulted in a stalemate, intensifying passions and hatreds rather than alleviating them.

This, [in short, is the story of thirty (1918-48) eventful years in Palestine, thirty years which have turned the Holy Land into a land of strife and bloodshed, and in which the actual participants are less to blame than outsiders, who made irreconcilable promises born of expediency and not of principle. "They have sown the wind," as one of the prophets of this ancient land once warned, "and they shall reap the whirlwind." Palestine is no longer a local problem between Arabs and Israelis; it has become a world problem.

The story of Palestine during the past 18 years (1948-66) is of Zionists' triumph and Israel's consolidation in the teeth of Arab opposition, but it is a heart-breaking story of Arab inactivity, incompetence, disunity and lack of enthusiasm to avenge their disgraceful defeat at the hands of the Israelis. During all these long years, the entire Arab world seems to have slept. Today (in 1966), about 262,000 Arabs still reside inside Israel; they live mostly in the Galilee, the 'Triangle' and the Negev. Thus, the Arab minority constitutes only 1/10th of the present population of 'Israel', which is completely crushed economically.

In May, 1965, the Arab heads of State met at Cairo, with the prominent absence of Tunisia. Tunisia did not participate because it called for "a negotiated solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict", for which it was accused of "deviationism" by some Arab States. Meanwhile, 'the Palestine Arab guerrilla organization'—*Assifa* (Tempest)—continued its commando raids into 'Israel' in retaliation to the attacks of the Zionist bands on Jordan and Syria.

In July, 1965, the United States re-affirmed its pledge to protect 'Israel' and the Arab States against aggression from each other. Meanwhile, India effected her close military alliance with 'Israel' to the detriment of the Arabs. About the same time, President Johnson of the United States appointed the well-known Zionist, Arthur Goldberg, Supreme Court Justice, to replace the late Adlai Stevenson at the United Nations, which annoyed the entire Arab world.

The Zionists are not only the enemies of the Arabs but also of Islam and the Muslims in general; therefore, it is clearly the duty of the entire Muslim world to exterminate the so-called state of 'Israel'. If the Muslims will not destroy her, she will destroy them—at least her neighbouring Arab countries—which aspect should be the serious concern of the entire Muslim *Millat*. At least, for this object alone, distinctions between the Arab and non-Arab Muslims should be set aside to pursue the common cause. The President of 'Israel' is Ziaman Shazar. During 1966, 'Israel' (like India) was known to be producing its own nuclear bomb.

The Arab refugees of Palestine numbered over 1.3 million in 1966. Their host countries are : Jordan (698,000); Gaza Strip—U.A.R. (302,000); Lebanon (162,000); and Syria (138,000).

(20)

OTHER AFRICAN MUSLIM STATES

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INTRODUCTION

ISLAM IN CENTRAL AND WEST AFRICA

ISLAM is said to have reached Central Africa from three routes: 1) Egypt, by the Nile and its affluents; 2) Tripoli (Libya), *via* Ghadames to Timbuktu; and 3) Algeria, *via* Wargla. About 1000 C.E., Islam found its way into Songhi; towards the end of the 11th century, into Kanem; about 1500 into Bagirmi; and not much later into Katsina. The chief Muslim missionary for central negroland was one, Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Majili, from Tuat, who flourished about 1500. The Islam of central Africa seems to be everywhere of the Malikite school.

The first contact, the Sahara, Western Sudan and Western coast of Africa had with Islam, was when, in 666 C. E., 'Uqbah bin Nafi' subdued Waddan and the oasis of Kawwar in the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad, while, according to the Arab author, al-Muhallabi (who lived during 903-63 C. E., quoted by Yaqut, 1179-1229 C. E.), the ruling race at the ancient Kaukau, on the middle Niger in his day, was Muslim. These latter were of the older Saharan stocks, known to the Arabs as *Zaghawa* (*Getulae* of the Romans); stocks which, during 500-600 C. E. and onwards, were steadily subjected to the newer Tuareg confederations. known to the Arabs as 'Lamtuna'.

By about 1068 C. E., in the time of the Arab historian, al-Bakri, the Tuaregs had become masters of the whole western Sahara, while the *Zaghawa*, under pressure of the Tuareg *Murabitin* warriors on the one hand, and Arab invaders, such as the tribes of Hilal and Suleim on the other, had been steadily fusing with other units in the Saharan oases, and particularly in Senegal and Mauritania.

Thus, in the 11th century Sahara, there was present this warrior race, largely made up of the Tuareg *Murabitin*, who converted its western parts to Islam; while farther east in Kanem, Borku and Kawwar, another nomad Tuareg tribe, called 'Maghumi', was doing the same and founding the kingdom, which later was called 'Bornu'. The Ghana kingdom did not come under Muslim influence till 1240 C. E., when a Manding (Melle) conquest obliterated its capital, Kumbi. The ruling Muslim tribe of Melle, like that of Kaukau, was of *Zaghawa* origin. In the middle of the 15th century, a tremendous impetus was given to the spread of Islam in the hinterland of West Africa. In the interior of Africa, the Islamic influence, radiating from Turkey, Egypt, the Barbary coast (Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco), the Sudan, Zanzibar, and the Levant, was very powerful. In 1476, the Bornu kingdom, which had been in decay for nearly a century, was rehabilitated as a Muslim power in the Sudan and established west of Lake Chad.

The length of the river Niger is over 3,000 miles; it is the second largest river in Africa after the Nile. In area, West Africa is equal to that of the United States of America, and its population is greater than that of Britain. The region is inhabited mainly by negro races with a small percentage of Berbers and Arabs.

The spread of Islam over the Sahara and coastal region of West Africa is mainly due to the Berbers. Of the Muslim negro races, Mandingo, Hausa and Fula are numerically the largest. The Mandingos inhabit the basin of the upper Niger. The Hausas are the other great race of negroes in West Africa. They inhabit northern Nigeria principally. Their language—the Hausa—is spread over the whole of central Africa and is spoken by over 25 million people. It is written in Arabic script. There are, at present, 14 Hausa states in West Africa. The Fula (or Fulanis) inhabit principally the Futa Jallon mountains in the former French Guinea, and are spread all over the former French Sudan (now Mali). Their history is the most glorious of the negro races. In the 18th century, they established a great empire from Nigeria to the Cameroons, and founded many cities, among which Sokoto is the most famous. The Fulanis made a great contribution towards the spread of Islam among the pagan tribes of West Africa. The bulk of the Mandingo tribes is also Muslim. In the southern coastal areas, Christians are found in considerable numbers, but paganism still prevails.

West Africa has many centres of Islamic learning and civilization. Timbuktu was a great seat of Islamic learning as early as the 13th century, and retains its reputation more or less to this day. Sokoto (in Northern

Nigeria) is another centre of Islamic learning and sacred to West African Muslims. Kano is the biggest commercial centre in the whole region; Katsina is yet another seat of Islamic learning—both of them being in Northern Nigeria. Islam was first introduced into Senegal towards the end of the 11th. century C.E. The Almoravids (1091-1148 C.E.) of Morocco (the famous Berber tribe which stemmed the tide of Christianity and infused new blood into the veins of the decaying Muslim power in Spain) were foremost in this noble task. Their chief was 'Abd Allah ibn Yasin, whose missionaries converted most of Senegal and the Sahara to Islam. In the area along Lake Chad, Islam was introduced into Kanem as early as the 11th century, and gained a firm foothold in the 16th century in Bornu and Bagirmi, and in the 17th century in Wada'i. During the 11th and 12th centuries, the rulers of Jenne, Takrur and Malli, on the upper Niger, and the princess of Ghana, had embraced Islam.

The rise of the Muslim Songhay power, in the 15th century, under the Askias, in the buckle of the Niger, did much to enhance the prestige and power of Islam in the Niger valley. Hajj Muhammad Askia of Songhay, in 1515, laid siege to Agades in the Sahara (Agades had been founded, in 1438, as a Muslim city by the Tuaregs). In between Bornu on the one hand, and Songhay on the other, lay the Hausa kingdoms, which, later, formed the major part of Northern Nigeria. By the 16th century, there was a continuous chain of Muslim kingdoms, stretching across the Sudan and southern Sahara from east to west, from Wada'i in the east, through Bornu, to Agades, Hausaland, Songhay and Melle, and ending in the Fulbe settlements at Futa Jallon and Futa Toro in Senegambia.

The Islamic institutions, which, from about 1000 C.E., onwards, were established in Bornu, had a diverse origin from those which took root first among the ruling classes of such centres as Kaukau, Gao and Melle in the 10th century, and later at Timbuktu and in Hausaland. The Islam of Bornu came directly from Egypt, and indirectly from the Baghdad of the Abbasid Caliphs, while the Islam of the Niger valley came from North Africa and, in the 17th century, from the Idrisid Morocco. There exists, concerning the prosperous days of the empires of Bornu and Songhay, much evidence to show that, at a period when most of Europe was still sunk in the barbarism of the Middle Ages, a reflected cultural glow, due to the imitation of the best institutions of the Islamic caliphates of both East and West, flourished in not a few parts of the northern half of Africa.

During the 18th century, Melle and Songhay fell into decay; Bornu

gradually became effect and corrupt, and Hausaland (Northern Nigeria) tended to follow in the path of Bornu. By about 1730, a pious Muslim leader, known as Karamokwa Alfa (or, Ibrahim Sambegu), became ruler of Futa Jallon, in former French Guinea, and was able, by force of character, to bring about a great religious revival, which spread far and wide among his own people—the Fulbe—in Senegambia, and then to the neighbouring peoples extending to the upper and middle Niger, and beyond. Thus, the spread of Islam along the coast of West Africa in the volume, it reached during the 19th century, was ultimately due to this Futa Jallon movement. To it may be traced the strength of Islam on the upper Niger at the close of the 18th century, which is reflected in the present-day Muslim communities of Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Ivory Coast, Guinea and Ghana. The great Islamic revolution and revival on the middle Niger and in Hausaland was associated with the name of 'Uthman Dan Fadio, the first *Amir al-Mu'mineen*, Sultan of Sokoto.

The Mahdist movement of Muhammad Ahmad from the Sudan spread to Bornu, which lasted till 1900, under the rule of Rabiḥ Zubair. This movement brought with it, after the eclipse of Rabiḥ Zubair, a widespread increase, in the Sudan belt, of the influence of two great Islamic *tariqahs*—the Tejani in the Niger valley and west coast generally, and the Sanusiyyah in Wada'i and the Chad region. When the great Fulani dynasty was founded by the conquests of 'Uthman Dan Fadio, it ruled over a large part of the western and central Sudan. The Fulani empire also included a large part of the Yoruba country in the south (the Muslim Ilorin province), Adamawa and Bornu in the east, Gando and part of the former French Sudan (present Mali) in the west, and part of the Tuareg and Zinder country in the north. Islam was firmly established in the great states of Kano, Sokoto, Ilorin, Nupe, Borgu, Zaria, Adamawa, and others.

The chief set of influences, which brought Islam to West Africa, were Muslim missions from Morocco (14th century) and the propagation of Islam by the Fulanis. A constant influence also emanated from Egypt and Tripoli through trade, returning pilgrims from Mecca, and missionaries. Few people are aware that the Arabs had reached the famous desert-city of Timbuktu by 800 C.E. Long before Europeans were aware of the course of the Niger, the Arabs knew that it debouched into the Gulf of Guinea (or, *Genawa*, as the Arabs called it, and of which 'Guinea' appears to be but a corruption). Actually, in 1830, the Lander brothers gave, the first time, to Europe the aforesaid information about the Niger that the Arabs had known long before.

The spread of Islam among the Hausas of Northern Nigeria was mainly due to the great Fula leader, preacher and reformer, 'Uthman Dan Fadio, who founded an empire in Northern Nigeria and the Cameroons, with his seat at the city of Sokoto (1802). Because of his shrine there, Sokoto has become a sacred place of pilgrimage for the Muslims of West Africa. In the 19th century, two other Muslim reformers, al-Hajj 'Umar Tijaniyyah (1797-1865) and Imam Samad, converted thousands of pagans to Islam. At the death of al-Hajj 'Umar (in 1865), the major portion of the former French Sudan (now Mali) had recognised Islam as the state religion. Imam Samad (1846-1900), also known as 'Imam Sammory', was responsible for the conversion of large numbers of pagans in the coastal region between the upper Niger and the sea (now the republic of Guinea).

In the 19th century, again, the Sennusi (puritan) movement was a great factor in the spread of Islam in the Sahara and West Africa. The founder of this movement, Muhammad ibn 'Ali (1791-1859), was born in Algeria. He established his headquarters in the Jaghbub oasis in Libya. Sennusi preachers spread Islam in the Sahara, Togo, Dahomey, Cameroons and Ghana (particularly Ashanti). After the conquest of West Africa by France and Britain, Islam continued to make headway among the pagan tribes. In Guinea, Gambia, Liberia, Ivory coast, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Southern Nigeria, Togo, Dahomey and Cameroons, Islam is competing with the well-financed and organised Christian missionary work successfully and is spreading there rapidly.

In 1817, 'Uthman Dan Fadio had died, and his gifted son, Sultan Muhammad Bello, succeeded him. Like his illustrious father, Sultan Bello, too, was an enlightened ruler at Sokoto and author of many books on Islam. With his death in 1837, the great Fula empire was broken into many independent and semi-independent *amirates*, and the golden period of Muslim Nigeria came to an end. By the 18th century, all the coast from Senegal to Lagos (now capital of Nigeria) was dotted with British and French forts.

At the end of the 19th century, the major portion of Western Sudan (Mali) was under al-Hajj 'Umar Tijaniyyah of Senegal. His son, Ahmadu, was defeated, in 1890, and his capital—Segu—was captured by the French, who took Jenne in 1893. The French reached Timbuktu the same year. Another negro Muslim reformer, Imam Samad (Sammory), the master of the upper Niger basin and Guinea, was also defeated by the French, in 1898, at Cavalla (north of Liberia).

The chad region in central Africa had been, for centuries, under Muslim rule; the states of Kanem, Bornu, Borku, Wada'i and Bagirmi being the most important. By this time, an Arab, Rabih, occupied Bagirmi and Borku (Chad area), and extended his rule towards Sokoto (Northern Nigeria). His capital was Dikoa (south-western shore of Lake Chad). In 1898, the French attacked him. Rabih was killed in the battle of Kousseri on April 22, 1900. The French general Lamy, too, was killed. Kanem was conquered by the French in 1906, Wada'i in 1912, and Borku in 1914. The Muslim *amirates* of Northern Nigeria—Yola, Kano and Sokoto—were occupied by the British forces in 1901-03. Sierra Leone and Ghana also came under British occupation at the end of the 19th century.

There are several Muslim states in Nigeria. Of these, Sokoto (area: 36,000 square miles; estimated 1966 population over three million) is the largest. The present sultan of Sokoto is a direct descendant of 'Uthman Dan Fadio. Other principal Muslim *amirates* in Northern Nigeria are: Zaria, Katsina, Kano and Adamawa.

The Christians, in the coastal areas of West Africa, though in minority everywhere, are in political power in every former French and British colony, as in Ghana, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone, etc. The southern pagan and Christian coastal areas in West Africa are more advanced educationally, economically and politically than the northern Muslim regions in the interior.

During the next few decades, West Africa, with its fertile lands and unlimited, though untapped, natural resources, is expected to become the 'United States of Africa'. To secure Africa for Islam, it is necessary for the African and Asian Muslim countries to patronize the Islamic missionary work in West, Central and East Africa in the same way as the U.S.A., Portugal, Britain, Italy, France, Spain, West Germany and other American and European countries have, for long, been doing to propagate the Christian gospel.

Several factors contribute to the appeal of Islam to West Africans as opposed to Christianity. One may place first the high moral standards displayed both in private life and in business by the Muslims living in non-Muslim communities as compared with the lax standards of the Christians. There is no taint of White Imperialism in Islam, nor can the bogey-question of Christian missionaries be asked: "Was Christ a white man?" The schools of Islamic political philosophy are virtually unknown to the Muslims of West Africa. The majority of Muslim political leaders, outside Northern Nigeria, has been educated in the Western pattern, very

often in France, Britain and the U.S.A.

Berbers and Arabs from the north and east brought to Central and West Africa grassland-pastoralism and, later, Islamic monotheism. European whites brought the ravages of slave-hunting and ultimately the imposed peace and order of European domination, and Christian 'civilization and salvation'. As an aftermath of long European domination, the great 'blessings' of Western civilization, that Africa has received, are in the shape of a tremendous increase in prostitution, concubinage, broken marriages, gambling, drinking and illegal and immoral unions.

A curse of African, particularly Arab, life is its intense Western-type un-Islamic nationalism, which is diametrically opposed to Islamic internationalism. This nationalism has given the Arabs political freedom, but has isolated them from the main stream of Islamic idealism. Islamic ideology, therefore, has suffered badly in the din of political emancipation, and signs are lacking of any move anywhere towards the unity of Muslims and the glorification of Islam, except for the recent (1966) general Muslim unity efforts by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. Another aspect of the religious life in Africa is the presence of Ahmadi missions; but, to all intents and purposes, the Ahmadis are outside the pale of Islam.

(A)

THE REPUBLIC OF CHAD

THE former French Equatorial Africa comprised the present four independent states of (1) the Republic of Chad; (2) the Central African Republic (former Ubangi-Shari); (3) the Republic of the Congo—Brazzaville (former French Middle Congo); and 4) the Gabon Republic. The first two of them are Muslim majority countries. Lake Chad is situated in northern central Africa. It lies about 850 feet above the sea in the borderland between the Sudan and the Sahara. Fed by the Shari and other rivers, the lake has no outlet.

The Republic of Chad has an area of over 495,000 square miles. Its capital is Fort Lamy. It lies in the heart of Africa, about 1,500 miles from the coast. Chad's land-locked position, proximity to the Equator, great size, and relative inaccessibility, determine its fundamental characteristics. Lake Chad, a shallow triangular depression, is the meeting point of the boundaries of Chad, Niger, Nigeria and Cameroons. Into this lake flows the 750-mile Shari river. The small number of the rivers, coupled with the poor distribution of the rains, makes water one of the foremost problems for the country.

The Republic of Chad extends from the edge of the equatorial forest on the south to the Sahara on the north. The 1966 estimate of the approximate population of the Republic of Chad is about four million, with over 94% Muslims; the rest are animists (in the south), and a small Christian minority. The principal ethnic groups are: the Arabs, the Hausa, the Peuls, and the Saras. The non-Muslim population comprises: the Saras, the largest single group in Chad; the Hakka; the

Massa; and the Moundang. The Muslim population of the north speaks an Arabic dialect all its own. Each of the negro tribes in the south has its own local dialect. The French ethnologist, Delafosse, has distinguished three main linguistic groups in Chad: Shari-Wadaian; Nigero-Chadian; and Sharian.

Owing to its geographical position, Chad has long been one of the most active crossroads of trade between the East and tropical Africa. Thus, it has been a meeting place for the nomads of the north and the sedentary populations of the south. In earlier times, many African empires flourished between the Niger river and the Upper Nile, especially around lake Chad. Both the Bagirmi empire and the mighty realm of Wada'i exercised their sway within the present boundaries of the Republic of Chad. Muslim conquerors penetrated as far south as the Wada'i empire in the 14th century.

The first European in the modern era to set foot on the shores of lake Chad in 1897 was a Frenchman, Emile Gentil, who signed a treaty of alliance with Sultan Gaourang. Passing through the Bagirmi empire, *en route* to the Lake, he encountered the opposition of the famous Muslim chieftain, Rabih Zubair, who was, however, finally subdued, and the French usurped both the Muslim empires of Bagirmi and Wada'i. In 1912, French Colonel Largeau fraudulently obtained the signature of Sultan Sila to the Convention of Goz-Beida. The acquisition of the Borku region in 1913 completed the present boundaries of Chad.

In the Referendum of September 28, 1958, Chad voted in favour of the French Constitution. In March, 1959, the constituent assembly adopted the constitution of the Republic of Chad. The independence of the Republic of Chad was proclaimed at Fort Lamy on August 11, 1960, with Francois Tombalbaye (a Christian) becoming both the President and the Prime Minister of the new republic, which was admitted to the United Nations on September 20, the same year.

Illiteracy and poverty are common in this land-locked country. Little can be said about the Islamic conditions in Chad, except that the people believe in the Malikite rites and are attached to the Sennusi and Tejani *sufi* orders. They are very backward educationally, politically and economically. An abortive *coup* was staged in Chad in November 1965 against the unpopular government of President Francois Tombalbaye, who has suppressed Muslim sultanates in Chad and is an enemy of Islam like all Christian heads of African States.

(B)

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

(Former Ubangi-Shari)

THE Central African Republic (former Ubangi-Shari) is an inland country, more than 300 miles from the sea. Its area is 240,000 square miles. Close to the Equator, most of its territory lies between 3° and 4° north latitude. There are many rivers, including the Ubangi—a tributary of the Congo river—and the Shari; but navigation is difficult.

The estimated population (1966) is two million, with over 75% Muslims. The principal urban centres are: Bangui (capital), Bouar, Bambari and Berberati. There are four main ethnic groups: the Mandjia-Baya, the Banda, the M Baka, and the Zande. Saras is another ethnic group. Each group has a language of its own, but there is a sort of a *lingua franca*, called 'Sangho', which is spoken in all parts of the country.

In 1889, the first French outpost was established at Bangui, which served as the point of departure for the Possel, Crampel, Dybowski and Marchand expeditions. In 1910, with the formation of former French Equatorial Africa—comprising Gabon, the Middle Congo (present Republic of Congo-Brazzaville), Ubangi-Shari (present Central African Republic), and the military territory of Chad (present Republic of Chad)—Ubangi-Shari was given an administrative set-up by the French, which lasted until 1945.

A new stage in the advancement of Ubangi-Shari toward autonomy was signalled by the *loi-cadre* (or, 'enabling act') of June 23, 1956, which was a turning point in French policy with regard to its Overseas Territories. This law did away with the system of a double electoral college, and established universal suffrage. The Central African Republic (formerly, Ubangi-Shari) is one of the territories of Africa, which voted 'Yes' in the French referendum of September 28, 1958. The people, under the leadership of Barthélemy Boganda, returned a 98% vote in favour of the French constitution, which gave each (former French) territory a free choice as to its future ties with the French republic. Independence was proclaimed on August 13, 1960, and the next day the legislative assembly chose David-Dacko as the President of the Republic. Dacko retained the functions of the head of the government, which he had held since April 30, 1959, following Prime Minister Boganda's death in an aeroplane accident.

The President, who is invested by the assembly for the entire legislative term of five years, possesses broad executive powers. He is the head of all the administrative services. The Central African Republic has joined with the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) and the Republic of Chad in forming a confederation of independent states, known as the 'Union of the Republics of Central Africa.' Its charter was adopted by these three states at the conference of Fort Lamy on May 17, 1960.

After Chad, the Central African Republic is the Muslim majority country in central Africa; but, like Chad, the Muslims in this state too are very backward in all respects—politically, educationally and economically. The French colonialists intentionally kept these central African countries undeveloped and isolated from the rest of the civilized world. The central African Muslims have never come in contact with the Muslim political and religious movements. With their independence, it is now expected that they will come out of their isolation, imposed on them by foreigners. Like Chad and some other Muslim-majority African States, this country too has a Christian head of state. It is one of the poorest nations in Africa. On December 31, 1965, Colonel Bedel Bokasa, army commander, seized power, arrested President David Dacko, and became himself the head of State. This army *coup* was the third one in Africa in a month, following army take overs in Congo by General Joseph Mobutu on November 25, 1965, and in Dahomey by General Soglo on December 22, 1965.

(C)

THE REPUBLIC OF THE NIGER

NIGER is a great river of West Africa, inferior only to the Nile and the Congo among the rivers of the African continent. Its total length is about 2,600 miles. The area of the Niger basin is calculated at 580,000 square miles. In the middle Niger is the great lake region. Kabara is the river-port of Timbuktu, where ends the labyrinth of lakes, creeks and back-waters. After the desert region is past, the Niger receives the waters of the river, Sokoto, coming from the north-east. The Kaduna river is another tributary of the Niger, whose head-waters are not far from Kano.

The Republic of the Niger has an area of about 494,500 square miles. Its estimated (1966) population is approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ million; the Muslims being over 90%. The country is divided into nine provinces. The main towns are : Niamey (capital) and Zinder. The principal ethnic groups are : Hausa, Jerma, Tuareg, Peul and Songhai—mostly Muslims. Niger is essentially a borderland of the Sahara. The semi-arid climate in the south and the desert climate of the north account for the great variety of landscape and for the uneven distribution of the population. The sedentary farmers are divided into two principal ethnic groups: Hausa (over two million) and Jerma-Songhai (over half-a-million). As one approaches the great desert in the north, the countryside and people change.

The Peuls (about half-a-million) and Tuaregs (over a quarter million)—both Muslims—including the Hausas, who live in this region, depend on their flocks for most of their needs. Farther to the north,

the shifting sands of the desert make both human and animal life impossible. There is little urban life. Besides Niamey (capital) and Zinder, there are only two more towns in the entire country—Tahoua and Maradi. The remaining population centres are villages. Niger is still in an early stage of development. It is a land-locked country, which fact poses the problem of transportation routes.

The Niger government, eager to work in close co-operation with the Republic of Dahomey, one of its three partners in the 'Council of the Entente', has concluded an agreement with the government of that country providing for the establishment of a "Joint Dahomey-Niger Organisation for Railroads and Transportation".

The beginnings of the Songhai empire, which was founded at Gao on the Niger river, have been traced back as far as the 7th century C. E. Early in the 17th century, the Jerma tribesmen migrated in large numbers to the banks of the middle Niger. The Hausa states reasserted themselves, and the Tuaregs formed great confederations. The Peul conquerors came next. 'Uthman Dan Fadio established the kingdom of Sokoto at the end of the 18th century. He subjugated the Hausa, but his successors were able to maintain their authority only as religious leaders.

In the 19th century came the Europeans. Mungo Park, a Scotsman, who was killed near Bussa in 1806, was the first. A succession of German explorers passed through Niger territory during the middle years of the century. They were followed in the 1890's by the French. The first French outpost was established at Talibia in 1896.

In 1956, the *loi-cadre* (or, 'enabling act') granted a large measure of self-government. The first autochthonous government was set up in May 1957. In the Referendum of September 28, 1958, the people of the Niger voted in favour of the new French constitution. The Niger assembly called on Hamani Diori to form a government.

Following the signature with the French Republic in July 1960 of agreements providing for the unconditional international sovereignty of the four member states of the 'Council of the Entente', the Republic of the Niger proclaimed its independence on August 3, 1960. Niger was admitted to the United Nations on September 20 the same year. There is the presidential system of government; Hamani Diori is both the President and the Prime Minister. Besides Hamani Diori's

ruling political party, 'Niger Progressive Party' (P.P.N.), the opposition 'African Regroupment Party' (P. R. A.) is led by Jibo Bakary. The pro-French President of the Niger, Hamani Diori, is a good Muslim. In April 1965, he escaped an attack on his life made by a terrorist.

Niger, like Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea and Northern Nigeria, is a bulwark of Maliki Islam in this part of Africa. However, like the rest of the African Muslim countries, that have long been under the yoke of European domination, Niger too has been cut off from the main religious and political currents of the modern resurgent Islam. These Muslim states have, undoubtedly, achieved political emancipation, but they have yet to be free from the cultural shackles of the nefarious Western 'civilization' before they can claim to be completely independent and really free Muslim countries.

(D)

THE REPUBLIC OF THE UPPER VOLTA

UPPER Volta covers an area of about 106,000 square miles in the heart of West Africa—500 miles from the Gulf of Guinea at Abidjan, more than 1,000 miles from the Atlantic Ocean at Dakar. This inland republic is a land of intriguing contrasts—between the picturesque charm of wooded hills and the harsh lineaments of the desert. Upper Volta is a vast wedge-shaped plateau consisting, for the most part, of crystalline rocks. On it, the main rivers—the Leraba, the Comoc, the Black, White and Red Volta, and the Oti—flow toward the Gulf of Guinea.

Over 4½ million (1966 estimate) people, including over 85% Muslims, live in Upper Volta. The Voltaics are overwhelmingly a rural people. The chief urban centres are: Ouagadougou (the capital, seat of a Christian missionary archdiocese, and residence of the Moro Naba, emperor of the Mossi); Bobo-Dioulasso (focus of trade-routes, and the busiest economic centre of the republic); Ouahigouya (residence of the Yatenga Naba (king); Koudougou; and Banfora. Ethnically, the population can be divided into two main groups: (1) Voltaic, comprising the Mossi, Gourounsi, Bobo and Lobi; (2) Mande, comprising the Samo, Tougan-Marka, Dioula and Boussance.

The Mossi, founders of the medieval Moro Naba empire, make up about half the population of the republic. Their emperor, the Moro Naba, who symbolised the sun on earth, lived surrounded by a court of ministers and dignitaries, in which every move was subject to regimentation and a strict etiquette. The Yarce and the Gourmantche, who are of similar stock, have an almost identical way of living. The Bobo

belong to three tribes. Of very ancient origin and related to the Mande, they have kept their primitive religion against the onslaughts of Christianity. Theirs is a world of numerous gods and spirits, who appear in ritualistic ceremonies covered with masks. Over all reigns the supreme deity, the Wuto. Young men are initiated at nocturnal firelight ceremonies within the family circle, when a secret language is used.

The Gourounsi differ considerably in habits and characteristics from the Mossi. They practise fetishism, but have been forced by European white missionaries to accept Christianity. The Lobi are one of the most striking peoples of Upper Volta, and their customs and ways of life have evoked the keen interest of sociologists and ethnographers. Their society is based on a clan system in which descent is counted through women. The Mande, in four groups, have infiltrated among the Voltaics, but have managed to preserve their customs and characteristics. They are also to be found in Guinea, Mali and the northern part of the Ivory Coast. Other groups include those great travellers and merchants, the Hausa; Peuls, semi-nomadic shepherds; and the Tuaregs of the district of Dori, who are related to the Tuaregs of the Sahara and who still preserve their traditional way of life. All the three groups are Muslim.

The history of Upper Volta, until the end of the 19th century, is the story of the empire-building Mossi. In the 11th century, they left their homeland in East Africa, crossed the Niger, and established two small kingdoms in the Gambaga region of what is now northern Ghana. From there, they spread into Upper Volta, and created feudal empires and kingdoms. Under Ouedraogo ('the Stallion'), the Mossi founded the empire of 'Moro Naba', whose capital was at Ouagadougou. One of Ouedraogo's grandsons became the ruler of no less than four kingdoms—Tenkodogo, Zandoma, Oubritenga and Fada-n-Gourma. In Ouagadougou, the original empire persisted down through an unbroken line of 'Moro Naba' to modern times. It resisted the influence of Christianity, preserving, to a great extent, its ancient customs and traditions. Islam, nevertheless, gained converts among them.

The French arrived in 1896. First, a French protectorate was established over the Mossi empire of Ouagadougou; then in 1919 the provinces were united into a territory, called 'the Upper Volta' which was made a part of the former French West Africa. On May 18, 1957, the first autochthonous government was set up. On December 11, 1958, it had the elected status as a member state of the 'French Community'. In February, 1959, it adopted its constitution. The executive

powers are exercised by its President, who is both the head of the state and the Prime Minister. On August 5, 1960, Upper Volta became completely independent, and on September 20, the same year, it was admitted to the United Nations. In May, 1959, the Niger and Dahomey joined with the Ivory Coast and the Upper Volta to form the 'Council of the Entente', sometimes referred to as the 'Sahel-Benin Union'.

Upper Volta is one of the Muslim-majority countries of West Africa. Like its other immediate Muslim neighbours, Niger, Mali, Senegal and Guinea, it has long been under the political and cultural domination of colonial France, which sought to destroy systematically all vestiges of Islamic life and traditions. The Muslims of Upper Volta, as elsewhere in Africa, are backward educationally and economically, and they have had very little contact with the main currents of resurgent Islam. The Islamic religious life in these recently—emancipated Muslim countries of Africa is sadly mixed up with irreligious and anti-Islamic trends, bolstered by the fundamentally atheistic influences of the Christian West.

In January, 1966, Colonel Sangoule Lamizana, army commander, seized power, deposed President Maurice Yameogo, and himself became the President and Prime Minister of the country.

(E)

THE REPUBLIC OF MALI (Former French Sudan)

THE expression, *Bilad al-Sudan*, properly means 'land of the negroes'. It would appear then that the word 'Sudan', which comes from it, means all the parts of Africa inhabited by the negroes. But, it has become the custom to restrict its application to the area of sub-Saharan Africa, which has been penetrated by Islam. Generally, the Sudan includes all the lands lying south of the Libyan and Sahara deserts. From the Atlantic in the west to the western frontiers of Ethiopia in the east, the southern limit following roughly 10° north latitude. Politically, however, the former Egyptian Sudan is now known as 'the Sudan'.

The intercourse of North Africa with the Sudan, which took place via the Nile or across the Sahara, continued in the Greek and Roman periods and later, after the conquest by and conversion to Islam of North Africa, it was continued by the Arabs. By the end of the 7th century C. E., the Muslims of Egypt, *Ifriqiyyah* and the *Maghrib* were attending the great markets of the Sudan. But, it was only in the 11th century C. E., that Islam began to spread among the Sudanese. Christianity had penetrated into several parts of the Sudan; it was predominant in Nubia from the 4th to the 7th century. Islam must have spread very early among the Nubians of the valley of the Nile. It was on the western part of the Sudan that a deep and lasting impression was first made by the teachings of Islam. It reached there not through the Arabs but through the Berbers of the Sahara, who, at this time, launched the Almoravid movement.

At this time, the Ghana empire was flourishing in the Western Sudan, whose rulers were negroes of the Sarakolle tribe, who lived at Kumbi in the province called Waghadu, and who bore titles of 'Tunka', 'Kayamagha', and 'Ghana'. It is this last term, extended from the ruler to the town, that was used for the town of Kumbi. The 'Ghana' extended his sway over the greater part of the Western Sudan, and notably over the majority of the Berber tribes of the Sahara and, in particular, over that of the Lemtuna and over their capital, Awdaghost.

In 1042 C. E., the Berber reformer, 'Abdallah bin Yasin, left the *rital* (monastery), which he had conducted on an island of the lower Senegal, and began to preach Islam to the Berbers of the Adrar and of the Tagant and to the negroes of Takrur (Futa-Toro), ancestors of the Tukulor of our day. The king of Takrur and his family the first of the negroes to do so—adopted Islam. The king of Manding (or Mali), who lived on the Upper Niger, soon became converts also, the and conversion of the king of Songhoy, in the region of Gao on the middle Niger, is placed about the same date.

Awdaghost, which remained faithful to Ghana, was attacked and taken in 1054 B. C., by 'Abdallah bin Yasin. About 1076 C.E., while Yusuf bin Tashifin, leader of the Almoravids, was conquering Morocco and preparing to invade Spain, his cousin, Abu Bakr bin 'Umar, of the Lemtuna tribe, put an end to the long period of Ghana domination. Now, the Sarakolle of Kumbi became converted to Islam *en masse* and began to spread it far and wide. The death of Abu Bakr bin 'Umar in 1087 C. E. did not prevent the propagation of Islam from going on, and at the end of the 11th century, Islam was carried upto the dense forests of the former Gold Coast.

In the 14th century C.E., Timbuktu became the Muslim metropolis of Western Sudan. The Mandingo empire was then at its zenith. In 1325 C. E., its ruler, the famous Gongon (or Kankan) Musa had mosques built in Gao and Timbuktu. These mosques introduced to the Sudan an architectural style, which spread rapidly there. Gongon Musa's authority was consolidated over the Niger countries. The progress of Islam became still more rapid at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries as a result of the policy of the great prince of Songhoy—the Askiya Muhammadu Toure.

In 1591, Songhoy and Timbuktu were conquered by Moroccan expedition. The tribes of the Tukulor, the Sarakolle, the Jula and Songhoy, and the total populations of all the large towns in the Sudan

became Muslim. It was in the 18th and 19th centuries that Islam made most progress in western Sudan. This movement had begun about 1720 with the creation at Futa-Jallon of a Muslim state. It was strengthened in 1776 by the foundation at Futa-Toro of a similar monarchy as a result of the victory, which the Muslim Tukulors then inflicted on the Pul, who then adopted Islam. Gradually, the Wolof of lower Senegal were also converted to Islam. Great mystics and saints arose among the Torodbe of Futa-Toro and among the Pul of Masina. The first was the Tukulor, 'Uthman Dan Fadio, who preached Islam between the Niger and the Chad, converted the Hausa, and founded the empire of Sokoto (1802).

The great reformer, 'Uthman Dan Fadio, was followed by the Pul, Seku Hamadi Bari, who secured the supremacy of Islam in Masina and built a capital there, which he called Hamadallahi (1810). Then, the Tukulor al-Haj 'Umar began, in 1838, a series of successful missionary campaigns. At his death (1864), he left a vast empire in which Islam predominated, but it was to collapse before the French aggression and barbarism (1890-93).

In the Central Sudan, Islam had made its first appearance in the 11th century. But, it took firm root in these regions in the 15th century by establishing itself solidly on both sides of Lake Chad. At the end of the next century, in the reign of the 'Mbang' 'Abdallah (1561-1602), Islam reached Bagirmi, and, at the beginning of the 17th century, saint Sali brought Islam to Wada'i, where it was firmly established about 1635. Later, Islam spread southwards under the influence of Rabih (1878-1900).

In the Eastern Sudan (now the Republic of the Sudan), the Nuba formed the only native Muslim population down to the 16th century. At this period, Darfur was converted to Islam by the founder of a new dynasty, named Solun-Suleman. One of his successors, Teherab, conquered Kordofan and converted the Koldaji of this country in the 18th century. The conversion of the eastern Sudan made more rapid progress towards the end of the 19th century under the influence of the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad, who belonged to a Nubian family of Dongola, and who conquered Kordofan, Darfur, Bahr 'al-Ghazal, Sennar and finally Khartoum (1881-85), and under his *Khalifah*, 'Abdallah (belonging to the Baggara tribe of Darfur), who extended his conquests into the province of Equatoria (1892) to be finally driven from Khartoum by Kitchener in 1898, and killed in Kordofan in 1899 by a force under Colonel Wingate. During the preceding twelve centuries, this region had successively been ruled by the Ghana, Mali and Songhai empires and by local Bambara chiefs.

Upper Volta was separated from former French Sudan in 1919, and the latter, for several years called 'Upper Senegal and Niger', became French Sudan again in 1920. The tribes, living north and east of the Niger, are mainly of Berber (Tuareg) stock; the inhabitants of the Niger-bend are chiefly negroids, such as the Mandingo, with Fula in certain districts.

Bamako, chosen in 1904 as the capital of the country, is on the upper Niger at the head of its navigable waters. Segou, where Mungo Park first reached the Niger, is a series of townships, and had been the headquarters of the *amirs*, 'Umar and Ahmadu. Sansandig was visited by Mungo Park in 1796. In 1865, Ahmadu, Sultan of Segou, had besieged it.

The hundreds of languages spoken by negro and other peoples from Abyssinia to Nigeria are termed as the 'Sudanic' languages. Out of them Hausa, Mandingo, Kanuri and Peul are written in Arabic script.

The area of the Republic of Mali is 465,000 square miles, with an estimated (1966) population of over 4½ million, including over 95% Muslims.

On November 24, 1958, the territorial assembly of the former French Sudan unanimously proclaimed, at Bamako, the creation of the Republic of the Sudan (which has since been known as 'Mali'). The Sudan and Senegal joined to form 'the Mali Federation', but soon decided to separate; Sudan retaining, however, the new name of 'the Mali Republic' for herself, of which Modibo Keita is the President. Politically, President Modibo Keita follows 'neutralism' of President Nasser of the United Arab Republic.

During August 1962, riots in Bamako pointed to the long smouldering middle-class resistance to single-party rule and outside interference in Mali's affairs. The country has chosen 'Socialism' as its governmental policy. Like Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Guinea and Nigeria, Mali, too, is a bulwark of Islam in West Africa.

(F)

THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA

MAURITANIA is a Saharan region, except in the vicinity of the Senegal river. The population of Mauritania is composed of a majority of Moors, chiefly Berbers crossed with Arabs and with negroes. They are the descendants of the Zenaga, who founded, in the 11th century, the empire of the Almoravids. The principal towns are : Port Etienne, Boghe, and Kaedi. Nouakchott is the capital.

The area of Mauritania is about 419,200 square miles, and the population (1966 estimate) is over one million—all Muslims (100%).

The first campaign of the Berbers in Mauritania was in 734 C.E. Since then, they constantly frequented the Sahara, and established themselves as the masters of Mauritania permanently during the 15th century. The Lemtuna Berbers—the champions of Islam—had founded, in the second half of the 11th century C.E., the famous conquering dynasty of the Almoravids. The Mauritaniens hold that, to each of the four great *imams* of (Sunni) Islam corresponds a Muslim rite, and to the four rites, the four great mystic (*Sufi*) brotherhoods are attached, namely 1) the Sufiyyah ; 2) the Qadiriyyah; 3) the Shadhiliyyah; and 4) the Tijaniyyah.

It is the renown of the above-mentioned *Sufi* orders and their influential adherents, which has made the name of Mauritania famous throughout the Muslim world. The French, like other European colonial powers in Africa, did not spare any pains to undermine Islam and the Muslims by all means at their disposal, fair or foul.

The Moors—nomads for the most part—populate the Assaba, Hodh, Inchori, Tagent and Adrar regions. The Moors are of Arab-Berber origin

and are related to the Tuaregs of the central Sahara. Their history may be traced back to the 10th century, when the Lemtuna shepherds were re-organised by Amir Yahya bin Ibrahim

Then came the age of the 'Almoravid Epic', marked by the founding of Marrakesh in 1062 C.E., the destruction of the Ghana empire in 1076 C.E., and then the conquest of Fez in Morocco. In less than a century, the Almoravid dynasty extended its sway from Tlemsen to Algiers in the *Maghrib* and, crossing the Strait of Gibraltar, established its authority in Andalusia after having defeated the king of Spain.

France gradually usurped not only Mauritania, but also the greater part of West Africa. The *loi-cadre* of 1956 granted home-rule to Mauritania. The referendum of 1958 culminated in the proclamation of independence for the Islamic Republic of Mauritania on November 28, 1958. Mauritania had, earlier, formed into a French protectorate in 1903, and was converted into a special 'civilian territory,' in 1904 ; it had become a French colony in 1920.

The principal ethnic groups are : White Moors and a negro minority, chiefly Tukulors and Sarakolles.

The official religion of the country is Islam. The national language is Arabic. Executive power is exercised by the President elected by the assembly. In May 1959, 'the Mauritanian Regroupment Party (P.R.M.)' won all assembly seats in an uncontested election, led by the President of the country, Mokhtar Ould Daddah, a former lawyer and pro-French politician.

The French tried their utmost to distort the Muslim history and suppress the teaching of Islamic precepts and the Holy Quran, but failed. The people established an Institute of Islamic Studies at Boutimilit in 1955, which is still flourishing. The powerful exiled Amir of Trarza, Muhammad Ould Fall 'Umar, is the chief of Mauritanian Moorish warriors (about 50,000).

Morocco claims that the region of Chenguit (now called Mauritania) had been a part of the complex of Moroccan provinces. Since the era of the Almoravids (11th century C.E.) to the early present century, its history, religion, and political and social development all evolved with the events happening to the Moroccan ensemble.

Now, the Moroccan Sahara is partly occupied by Spain (Ifni and Rio de Oro) and partly by Mauritania. Right from the 16th to the present century, numerous expeditions from Morocco visited Mauri-

tania, and investitures of Mauritians were performed by the Moroccan monarchs.

Morocco emphasized the French "treachery" in conquering and "separating her Mauritanian provinces" and suppressing her own sovereignty over them. Morocco also condemned the 1958 French referendum as "fraudulent" and the creation by the French of the Mauritanian nationhood, which suited French ends.

In October 1961, the General Assembly of the United Nations overrode objections of Morocco and a number of Arab League States to admit Mauritania as a member of the United Nations.

In July 1965, Mauritania broke with the joint Afro-Malagasy Organisation (O.C.A.M.), which was set up in February (the same year) as a successor to the Afro-Malagasy Union (U.A.M.), combining U.A.M.'s political role with the activities of the Afro-Malagasy Organisation for Economic Cooperation.

(G)

THE REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL

IN the form of Senegal, the name has been applied, from the 17th century, to the river, which flows into the Atlantic about 120 miles north of Cape Verd, and to the country that was occupied by the French in this part of Africa. This country is one of the oldest centres of Islam, where there are today no less than 90% Muslims, including many white Moors. Geographically, the two countries of Senegal and Gambia are termed Senegambia.

Senegal was, perhaps, the first of all the negro countries of Africa to receive the blessings of Islam. It was in a hermitage (*zawiyah*), built on an island of lower Senegal, that the religious movements of the Almoravids began about 1040 C.E., who won over to Islam the notables of the negro kingdom of the Takrur, which lay in the province of Senegalese Futa.

Towards the end of the 11th century C.E., Islam was introduced among the Soninke of Galam, above Futa. Much later, towards 1770, the Tukulor clan of Torodbe preached Islam among the pagan Fulbe, who became Muslims (upto 1776). It resulted in the establishment at Futa (in the hands of the Tukulors) of a Muslim state with an elected government, which lasted till 1890, the time of the definite annexation of Futa to the former French colony of Senegal.

It is from this religious centre, founded by the Torodbe of the Senegalese Futa, that several great Islamic missionary movements, covering a very wide field, had started, notably about 1800, that was led by 'Uthman Dan Fadio. It ended in his conversion of the Hausa country

(Northern Nigeria) and the foundation of the Muslim empire of Sokoto; and, about 1845, that of 'Umar Tal (called al-Haj 'Umar), which lasted from 1854 to 1862, and ended in the conversion by the Tukulors of the Cambara kingdoms of Kaarta and Segou, and the Fulbe kingdom of Masina.

Meanwhile, Islam had spread among a considerable part of the Mandingo peoples of the upper Faleme, of the upper Gambia and the upper Casamance. At a more recent period, Islam won over almost all the Wolof of the lower Senegal river and, of the lands to the south, as far as Cape Verd.

The inhabitants of Senegal are, mainly, Moors and allied Berber races, and negroids. The Moors, or rather Berbers (Trarzas, Braknas and Duaish), inhabit the right bank of the Senegal. Fula (Peuls) are found in various parts of the country. Negroids, however, form the bulk of the population. The best known of these tribes are the Wolofs and Mandingos. The Berbers, Fula and Mandingos are Muslim. The chief towns of Senegal are Dakar (the capital), and St. Louis.

The story of the French conquests, throughout West Africa, is inseparably connected with the history of Senegal. The first French settlement was probably made in 1626 at St. Louis, near the mouth of the Senegal river. By the treaty of Nijmegen (1678), and again by the treaty of peace in 1783, Senegal was restored to France from both the Dutch and the British who had captured it in earlier times. The treaty of Paris restituted the country finally to France in 1817 from the British who had captured it again. In 1854, General Faidherbe, as governor, subdued the Moorish (Berber) tribes of the Trarzas, Braknas and Duaish, and bound them by treaties. In 1855, he erected the fort of Medine for the purpose of stemming the advancing tide of the Muslim penetration, which, under 'Umar al-Haji (Alegui) threatened the supremacy of the French. In 1857, however, 'Umar retired from the scene.

The armed conquest by France began in 1880. In 1881, the Niger was reached; the fort of Bamako on the Niger was built in 1883. In 1887, Almany Ahmadu signed a treaty, under compulsion, placing his entire country under French protection. Besides Ahmadu, the principal opponent of the French was a Malinke (Mandingo) chieftain, named Samory, born about 1846, who first became prominent as a reformer in Islam, and had, by 1880, made himself the master of a large area in the upper Niger basin. In 1887, and again in 1889, he was induced to recognise a French protectorate, but peace did not long prevail either with him or with Ahmadu.

The struggle was resumed in 1890. Ahmadu lost Segou. Nioro, the capital of Kaarta, was occupied (1891); and Jenne was taken in 1893. Samory proved a veritable thorn in the flesh of his enemies, but was finally defeated on the Cavalla to the north of Liberia, and taken prisoner in 1898. He was deported to Gabon, where he died in 1900; he was most probably poisoned by the French. Timbuktu was occupied in 1893. France had signed with Britain the convention of August 5, 1890, which reserved the country, now known as Nigeria, to Britain. A period of tension between France and England was put an end to by a convention signed in June, 1898.

Also in 1898, it was determined to send a French expedition to Lake Chad, which was to cooperate with other expeditions from Algeria and the Congo. The combined force marched to Lake Chad, and, having been joined by the Congo expedition, met and defeated the forces of the great Arab ruler, Rabih. In 1916 the Tibesti highlands in central Sahara were also usurped and attached to former French West Africa, marking its eastern limit. The ancient Muslim kingdoms were no longer recognised by the French. The French allowed the slavery to linger on for many years in their African possessions even after its abolition in 1901. Senegal furnished France with many thousands of soldiers during both the world wars.

Senegal has an area of approximately 80,000 square miles; the estimated (1966) population is over 3½ million, with over 90% Muslims. The capital is Dakar. The principal ethnic groups are: the Moors (Berbers), the Wolofs, the Peuls (Fula), the Serer, the Tukulors, the Diola, the Malinke (Mandingo), and the Sarakolle. Fort Saint Louis, named in honour of Louis XIV, was established by the French in 1659. Around 1840, forts were built on the upper Senegal, and the trek toward the south began.

In 1958, Senegal was elected as a member state of the French Community and adopted its constitution as an independent republic on January 24, 1959. Senegal had then joined with the Sudanese republic to form the Federation of Mali. Leopold Sedar Senghor in September, 1960, was elected the President of the republic of Senegal. In June 1960, the independence of the Mali Federation was proclaimed, but in August, the republic of Senegal withdrew from the Federation and proclaimed its own separate independence. The Republic of Senegal was admitted to the United Nations on September 28, 1960.

Dakar was the headquarters for the Christian proselytising work in the whole of West Africa. But, the general feeling was that the white

man was finished in Africa. If an organised Islamic missionary work was started in right earnest, Christianity in Africa should, to all intents and purposes, in most places, disappear during the next decade owing to the following three reasons: (1) Christianity has been the religion of the hated slave-raiding and barbarous European colonial regimes; (2) Christianity is the religion of the racist white man and his detestable *apartheid*; and (3) the present low standard of morality, introduced into Africa from the West, is the direct result of Christianity. Africans are now trying to rise above their past; everything the white man stood for must go.

An important Senegalese Muslim is the Grand Serigne of Dakar, al-Haj Ibrahim Diop (*Place de la Mosquée*, Medina, Dakar), a son of the last president of the native republic of Leboue, the head of the Leboue people and of the Tijaniyyah sect in Senegal.

In December 1962, the Senegalese national assembly voted to abolish the office of premier and place Senegal on a presidential-type system. President Senghor assumed the powers of the chief executive in place of premier Mamadou Dia, who was deposed and imprisoned.

Senegal has been a bulwark of Islam in West Africa, but the Christian missionaries from Europe and America have left no stone unturned to undermine Islam there and in other parts of Africa. As in several other Muslim majority African countries, Senegal too is under the control of a government dominated by Christians, including President Senghor. The African Muslims are too disunited, poorly educated and politically immature to stem the tide of the preponderance of Christian influence.

Early in 1966, there were 13 Muslim ministers in the cabinet, including Doudou Thiam, foreign minister and vice-president; Maitre Lamine Gueye is the Muslim president of the national assembly.

(H)

THE REPUBLIC OF GAMBIA

GAMBIA consists of a stretch of land on both sides of the lower Gambia river, extending about six miles on each side of the river to about 200 miles in a direct line from the sea.

The Gambia was one of the rivers passed by Hanno the Carthaginian in his voyage along the west coast of Africa. It was known to Ptolemy and the Arab geographers, and was, at one time, supposed to be a mouth of the Nile, and later a branch of the Niger. Afterwards, the Gambia became a starting place for explorers of the interior, among them Mungo Park, who began his both journeys (1795 and 1805) from this river.

The inhabitants are almost entirely of negro or negroid race, the chief tribes represented being the Mandingo, the Serahuli, the Wollof and the Jola. Numbers of the Fulas are also settled in the country.

The ground-nuts of Gambia are sent to Marseilles for the extraction of the oil, which finds its way back to the African and Asian markets as the 'genuine' olive oil. The oil now forms a main ingredient of margarine.

From the 17th century, the French had been rivals for the trade of the Gambia, but the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 assigned the trade in the river to Britain, while it assigned the Senegal to France. This arrangement remained in force till 1857, when an exchange of possessions was effected and the lower Gambia became a purely British river.

The French pressed forward from Senegal and when the boundaries were settled by the Anglo-French agreement of 1889, Britain secured only

a ten kilometer strip on either side of the river as far inland as Yarbata, a town situated at the limit of navigability of the Gambia from the sea. By Article 5 of the Anglo-French Convention of 1904, Yarbata was ceded to France. Thus, Gambia has remained without access to the interior.

The area of Gambia is 4,004 square miles, and population (1966 estimate) over 350,000. Many Christian missions here, as elsewhere in Africa, are working hard to convert the Africans to Christianity, but the Muslims are still over 95 percent. Bathurst is the capital of the country. Other administrative centres are Brikama, Mansa Konko, Georgetown and Basse.

Gambia got home rule in 1962. The country is completely surrounded by the Republic of the Senegal. The People's Progressive Party (P.P.P.), led by Dawoodi Jawara, won 1962 elections and the latter became the Premier of Gambia. Gambia became fully independent on February 18, 1965.

Gambia was Britain's smallest, poorest and oldest colony in West Africa and the last to gain independence. In 1963, a United Nations report recommended a merger of Gambia with Senegal. The two governments have talked about union and have agreed to a mutual defence pact; but nothing has been done so far for the implementation of the proposed Senegambian union. The Prime Minister of Gambia, Dawooda Kairaba Jawara, has accepted Islam.

(I)

THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA (Former French)

GUINEA is an independent republic in West Africa. With a seaboard running a distance of 170 miles, the country extends eastward 450 miles in a straight line and attains a maximum width north to south of nearly 300 miles.

The massif of Futa Jallon tableland in this country is the hydrographic centre of West Africa. Futa Jallon is peopled principally by Fula, and the other districts by Malinke and other tribes of Mandingo. The Mandingo, the Fula and the Susu are Muslims.

The principal towns are : Conakry, the capital; Boke; Dubreka; Benti; Timbo and Labe, the chief towns of Futa Jallon; and Bissandugu, formerly Samory's capital.

During 1876-80, treaties were concluded with the chief tribes, and, in 1881, the Muslim Amir of Futa Jallon was compelled to place his country under French protection.

The area of Guinea is about 105,500 square miles, and the estimated (1966) population is about 3½ million, including over 85 per cent Muslims.

Guinea, one of the richest of France's former African territories, obtained complete independence in the nation-wide referendum *via* the ballot box on September 29, 1958. Guinea's Muslim President, Sekou Toure, then turned to Ghana and sought a federal link to strengthen his

position. Incidentally, Guinea became the first Muslim State from black Africa in the United Nations, when it was admitted on December 12, 1958, as its 82nd member.

The shadow Sekou Toure casts over Africa stretches far beyond the borders of his country. As the head of the only former French territory to vote against de Gaulle's constitution, and thus to choose complete independence, he was suddenly catapulted into the forefront of the African scene. After a rule of almost three quarters of a century, France left Guinea with its literacy rate of merely 5% and an average annual income of its people of only \$40.

Guinea was once part of the powerful Mali empire, which stretched from the former French Sudan, on the upper reaches of the Niger, to the Atlantic coast. Its 14th century famous Muslim ruler was the 'Mansa' (Sultan) Musa, who had turned the fabled city of Timbuktu into a trading centre and a refuge for scholars. But such medieval empires faded away one by one. By the 'rules of the game', laid down by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 for spreading 'civilization throughout darkest Africa', French hegemony over the area was recognised. One of the 'rules', was that no nation could set up a 'sphere of influence' in Africa unless it had effectively occupied the area. Therefore, some immediate results were that the Germans rushed into the Cameroons driving the British merchants out; the British hastily set up the 'Oil Rivers Protectorate' on the Niger delta to keep the Germans out; and the French sent garrisons into West Africa and occupied Conakry in 1887. Thus, the 'scramble for Africa' was on, and there was little the Africans could do about it.

However, one man who did was Imam Samory Toure, who pledged himself to an enemy chief and became a slave so that his captive mother could be released. Like the Biblical Joseph, he rose to head the enemy tribe and fought the French until 1898, when he was captured. After him, the French swarmed over West and Equatorial Africa and Madagascar. But the legend lived on of the warrior Samory, whom Sekou Toure claims as his grandfather.

Though no Soviet-style Communist, Muslim Toure ruled his country through a single party—the *Parti Democratique de Guinée* (P.D.G.). France could gradually and slowly swallow her indignation over the man, who had the audacity to say 'No' to the French offer of 'collaboration'. Since November 1958, when the Ghana-Guinea union was formed, surprisingly little had been done to implement its provisions.

Sekou Toure is virtually self-educated, having had the benefit of

only a primary school education. He is a convinced socialist and determined to make Guinea a socialist state. He denies, however, the charge of being a Communist. In April 1961, President Sekou Toure received the Lenin Peace Prize for 1960. This attentiveness of the Communist world to Guinea was coupled with the former's desire to make the latter a bridgehead for extended operations in West Africa.

In August 1961, President Sekou Toure expelled Roman Catholic bishop, Larb de Mileville, from Guinea, as the latter had publicly opposed the government's proposals to take over church-schools.

In December 1961, President Sekou Toure denounced Russian and East European infiltration of his country. For Toure, one of the few African leaders who seemed to be in the Soviet camp, the revelation of a Communist plot against his regime was a sudden about-face in tactics towards a newly-found neutralism, when he expelled the Soviet Ambassador—Daniel Semyonovich Solod—summarily from Guinea.

President Toure, though a 'positive neutralist', had Marxist training, and he has been commonly considered to be one of the best, if not the best, friends that the Soviet Union had among African nationalist leaders.

Together with Nigeria, Senegal and other West African Muslim majority countries, Guinea's importance as a bulwark of Islam in that part of Africa is undisputed. Ousted Ghana President, Kwame Nkrumah, has taken refuge in Guinea, and President Sekou Toure supports him against the new army regime in Ghana (November, 1966).

(J)

THE FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

NIGERIA is an independent country in West Africa, occupying the basin of the lower Niger and adjacent regions. The vast majority of the inhabitants is typical negro. In the south-west, the Yorubas are the chief race. In the delta-district and the forest zone, besides the people of Benin, are the Jekri; the Ijos, living in the delta of the Niger; and the Ibos, living in the east from the Niger to the Cross river. South of the Ibos live the Aros, who possessed an oracle (or 'Ju-Ju') of reputedly great power.

On the middle Cross river live the 'Akuna-Kunas'; and in the Calabar region are the Efiks, Ibibios and Kwas. All these tribes are fetish worshippers, though many of them are Muslims, and some Christians too, particularly the Efiks. The great secret society, called 'Egbo', was an Efik institution.

In Northern Nigeria live the Muslim Hausas, who had adopted Islam in the 13th and 14th centuries. The Muslim Fula tribe provided the ruling families in many of the Hausa States.

In general, the people living in the river valleys have been comparatively less affected by Islam. Thus, along the banks of the Niger, Benue and other streams, the inhabitants are negroes and pagans, like the Munshi.

The Yoraghums were cannibals. Nearer Yola lived the Battas, who too had a bad reputation. South of the Benue dwell the Okpotos, and the

Bassas. The people of Borgu claim to have a Coptic origin. In Bornu, the population consists of Berberi and the Fula.

The most widely diffused languages are Hausa and Yoruba. Arabic is the court and official language in the Fula amirates.

The largest cities are found in Yorubaland. Of these, Ibadan (the largest native city in Africa), Ilorin and Abeokuta are the most populous. Other towns in the south are Benin (west of the Niger) and Bende and Enugu (east of the river); Enugu is the centre of the Udi coalfield.

In Northern Nigeria, the chief city, Kano, is the commercial capital. Sokoto is the religious and political centre of the Fula. Katsina has a reputation as an educational centre. Other chief Hausa towns are Zaria, Bauchi, Beda and Yola. The chief towns of Bornu are Kukawa (near lake Chad), Maidugari and Dikwa. The administrative capital of Northern Nigeria is Kaduna. Jos, a modern town, is the centre for the Bauchi tin-fields. Lagos, on the coast, is the federal capital of Nigeria.

Mungo Park traced the Niger from Segu to Bussa, where he lost his life in 1805. Possession was taken, in 1861, of Lagos island. In 1880, the international 'scramble for Africa' began. The 'United African Company' was formed in 1879. After the Berlin Conference, held in 1884-85, a British protectorate was notified, in June 1885, over the coastlands, known as the 'Oil Rivers.'

Germany had, in the meantime, established itself in the Cameroons. In 1886, the 'United African Company' received a royal charter under the title of the 'Royal Niger Company'. The interior was then held by powerful Muslim rulers. The 'Niger Company' succeeded in negotiating treaties with some of the most important of these rulers.

In Northern Nigeria, in January 1900, the Union Jack was hoisted at Lokoja. By the end of 1902, British administration had been extended to all the provinces in the south, east and west of Nigeria. The important Muslim states of Sokoto, Gando, Kano and Katsina remained independent. These states were regarded as the strongholds of Fula supremacy. The amir of Sokoto held the position of religious, as well as political, head of all the lesser states of Northern Nigeria. They refused to submit.

The conquest of these Hausa states made the British the overlords of entire Nigeria in 1903. In the south, the new civilisation had been European and Christian; in the north, Islamic.

The geographical divisions of north and south were maintained. The native races in the hinterland of Lagos and to the east of the Niger practised fetish worship and cannibalism, and were pagans. On the west of the Niger, however, three native states, Yoruba, Egbe and Benin, were strongly organised.

The territory of the Cameroons was administered as an integral part of Nigeria, in accordance with a trusteeship agreement of 1946. In October 1954, Nigeria became a federation under a British governor-general.

The total area of the Federation of Nigeria is about 390,250 square miles, including the northern Cameroons. The population (1966 estimate) is about 57 million, including over 70% Muslims.

1. Northern region (including northern Cameroons) :

Area : 315,363 square miles.

Population : about 35 million.

2. Eastern region :

Area : 29,484 square miles.

Population : About 11 million.

3. Western region :

Area : 45,403 square miles.

Population : About 11 million.

In the Northern region of Nigeria, Islam is the dominant religion. In the Western region, also, there are very many Muslims. In the South, the Muslims are progressive. In the Eastern region, Islam has fewer adherents, where the people are either pagans or Christians. There are numerous Christian missions working hard to spread Christianity in the country. Independent Nigeria can have the same significance for black Africans as South Africa has for whites, and Egypt for the Arabs.

No part of Africa exceeds Nigeria in complexity. Today, Southern Nigeria is a Christian stronghold. Between Islamic and Christian areas lies an irregularly shaped pagan zone, whose people cling doggedly to belief in malevolent spirits. Jos, on the central plateau, in the Northern region, is like an island of primitive culture. The tin ore of Jos plateau appears as black granules cassiterite. Along with 15,000 tons of tin ore produced annually, rare columbite ore is also found. It is valuable

now in making heat-resistant alloys for use in the manufacture of jet engines. Here, too, geologists have found uranium ores.

The two southern regions of Nigeria became self-governing during the second half of 1957, while the North got self-rule in 1959.

The natives of the Cameroons are Bantu-speaking negroes in the south and centre; Sudanese negroes on the north. There are, in the north and centre, numbers of immigrant Hausa, and the ruling class in Dikwa and Adamawa are Fula. There are also, in the lake Chad region, the Arabic-speaking Shua. In general, in the north, Islam prevails, with corresponding social organisation, though some tribes maintain paganism.

The whole Cameroons region passed on to Germany in 1884, and both Britain and France recognised it as the German domain, which included territories upto lake Chad and parts of the Fulani (Muslim) states of Adamawa and Bornu. But, by the treaty of Versailles, in 1919, Germany renounced her sovereignty over the Cameroons.

A mandate to administer the original German colony of the Cameroons was given by the Supreme Council to France and Britain. The portions adjoining Nigeria were given to Britain. Some 5/6ths of the Cameroons came under the French mandate, and this part was then administered as a separate entity.

Thus, the Cameroons, lying between Nigeria and the former French Equatorial Africa, marches with the eastern boundary of Nigeria north-eastwards from the coast to lake Chad.

The northern part was attached to the provinces of Bornu, Benue and Adamawa in the Northern region of Nigeria, and the southern part was administered separately as the Southern Cameroons under the federal government of Nigeria. Victoria is its chief town and port. Southern Cameroons has since been merged with the independent State of the Cameroons.

The Federation of Nigeria became independent on October 1, 1960, and was admitted to the United Nations on October 7, the same year, as the 99th member of that world organisation.

Nigeria has the biggest Muslim population after Egypt as compared with any other single country in the Continent of Africa. Northern Nigeria is a stronghold of Islam in that part of Africa.

On January 15, 1966, the Christian element of the Nigerian army, under its commander, Gen. Johnson Agulyi-Ironsi, effected a *coup*, killing, among many others, Federal Premier, Sir Abubakr Tafawa Balewa and Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, Premier of Northern region, instigated by Christian missionaries and certain Christian powers, thus transferring power to the Christian minority. The Christian military regime let loose an avalanche of atrocities on the Nigerian Muslims particularly in the North. Israel is also said to have been an accomplice.

On July 29, 1966, mutiny broke out in the Nigerian army and dissident troops seized Maj. Gen. Johnson Agulyi-Ironsi. The mutiny was started by the Muslim Hausa armymen of the North, who revolted against the domination of the country by the southern Christian Ibo and Yoruba peoples. Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon, the army chief of staff from the Muslim North, took over the reins of the government of Nigeria on August 1, 1966.

CHAPTER 21

NON-INDEPENDENT MUSLIMS

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(1)

CHINA

IN the course of 1949, the Communists obtained full control of the mainland of China. During 1950, the People's Government extended its hold over most islands off the coast, including Hainan. The Kuomintang regime under Chiang Kai-shek is maintained with the help of the American forces in Taiwan (Formosa) and a few small island groups. On September 21, 1949, the 'People's Republic of China' was proclaimed in Peking by the 'Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference—P.C.C.'

The U.S.A., on the contrary, recognised the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Formosa, and has been persistently opposing the entry of Communist China into the United Nations. A 30-year treaty of 'friendship, alliance and mutual aid' between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China was signed in Moscow in February 1950. "in order to prevent, with joint efforts, the recurrence of Japanese imperialism". However, of late, the relations between the two major Communist States of the U.S.S.R. and China have not been cordial. China is composed of 36 provinces.

Peking is again the capital, after the interlude from 1928 to 1949, when Nanking was the capital. The total area of the People's Republic of China (including Tibet, Taiwan, Manchuria and Inner Mongolia) is about 4,481,000 square miles, and total population (1966 estimate) about 750 million.

Taiwan (Formosa), with its capital at Taipei, has an area of 13,890 square miles, and an estimated (1966) population of over 11 million. The island of Taiwan was ceded to Japan by China by the treaty of

Shimonoseki in 1895. After the second world war, the island was *de facto* returned to China (September 1945), and has been since 1950 under the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek, but claimed by Communist China. The continuation of its present status depends solely on American support. The island was formally incorporated as a part of China in 1683.

Manchuria comprises the nine north-eastern provinces. Its area is about half a million square miles, and population (1966 estimate) about 40 million.

Inner Mongolia comprises the three provinces of Ninghsia, Suiyuan and Chahar, with an area of 348,000 square miles, and a population (1966 estimate) of about 5 million.

Tibet, extending from Kashmir in the west to China on the east, forms a narrow enclave between the Himalayas and the Kunlun mountains to the north. Its area is about 470,000 square miles; its population is estimated (1966) to be about 4 million. The capital is Lhasa. In the past, it was not an exclusive and isolated region as it is today; a regular route from China to Nepal passed through it. The Manchu empire converted Tibet from a loose form of vassalage into a province of China. Following the Chinese revolution of 1912, the Tibetans evicted all Chinese officials from Tibet. Communist China occupied the entire Tibet in 1950 and made it one of her provinces; the Dalai Lama fled to India, where he has been staying ever since. The main trade route between India and Tibet lies from west Bengal through Sikkim.

The chief towns in China are: Peking (capital), Nanking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Tsingtao, Chungking, Mukden, Dairen, Harbin and Canton.

Besides Islam and Christianity, which were introduced into China comparatively lately, three faiths have long been established there, viz., Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. Confucianism is a philosophy, primarily of ethics and government. It has been indifferent or hostile to religions, and usually dominated the governmental administration from 618 C.E. to 1905. Taoism and Buddhism present a very gorgeous ceremonial, Taoism (of Chinese origin) having copied Buddhist ceremonial soon after the arrival of Buddhism, over 1900 years ago. Buddhism, in return, adopted many Taoist magical beliefs and practices. Buddhists in China number about 200 million and Taoists over 50 million. Ceremonies of reverence to ancestors have been observed throughout the country by the whole population regardless of philosophical or religious beliefs.

Roman Catholicism has had a footing in China for more than three centuries. Protestant missions date from 1807. However, with the advent of the Communist regime, thousands of Christian missionaries had to flee from China. There is also a colony of Chinese Jews in K'aifeng, capital of Honan province.

Muslims are found in every province of China, being most numerous in Yunnan, Chinghai, Shensi, Hunan, Kansu, Kiangsu, Hopei, Honan, Kweichow, Shantung, Szechuan, Ninghsia, Shansi, Taiwan, Manchuria, Mongolia and Sinkiang. Their total number in China is estimated (1966) at about 10%. There is no record of the exact date of the advent of Islam in China. Some sources claim that it was in 651 C.E., at the latest, the date of the first official contact between Muslims from Arabia and the Chinese Imperial Court, as recorded in the history of the T'ang dynasty.

Islam was brought to China over two routes. One was the famous 'silk route' from Antioch through the Mediterranean Sea, Iran, Central Asia, Turkistan and the Celestial Mountains to Chang An, capital of the Tang dynasty. This route was, however, blocked in 742 C. E. The other route was that followed by the Arab traders from the Persian Gulf through the Indian Ocean to Malaya, and thence to Canton.

By the time of the Ming dynasty, the 'Golden Age of Islam in China', the Muslims were completely absorbed into Chinese civilization. After the founding of the Republic of China, Muslims were recognized together with the Hans, Manchurians, Mongols and Tibetans as one of the five races that make up the Chinese people.

As regards Islam in Formosa, the Muslims went there in 1628 with the pioneers of that island headed by Cheng Cheng-kung (Koxinga) at the end of the Ming dynasty. Now (1966), there may be over 50,000 Muslims in Taiwan. Many of them have moved here from Mainland China with the National Government in 1949. A prominent Chinese Muslim in Taiwan is General Omar Pei. The Chinese Muslim Association, with its headquarters and an excellent mosque at Taipei, is a reputed Islamic organization under the able leadership of the translator of the Holy Quran in Chinese, Haji Khalid J. C. Shih.

Sinkiang (or Chinese Turkistan) comprises all Chinese dependencies lying between Mongolia on the north and Tibet on the south. Only one-tenth of the area is habitable. The capital is Tihua (Urumchi); other towns are: Ili (Kulja), Kashghar, Yaqand, Kucha, Khutan and Turfan. The area of Sinkiang province is 706,000 square miles, and population (1966 estimate) about six million. The province contains

over 90% Muslims. Sinkiang (or, the New Dominion, as it is called by the Chinese) is an ancient land. Geographically, Sinkiang is divided into two parts by the T'ien Shan—the Heavenly Mountains—so popular in Chinese lore.

Trade routes have run through Chinese Turkistan from times immemorial, connecting China with the outside world. One of these routes leads to Kashghar and Yarkand at the foot of the Pamirs, which act as a barrier between West Pakistan and China. To these routes was due the great interchange of civilization between China and the outside world. Strategically placed between Tibet on the east and Russian Turkistan on the west, on its southern side, it borders Afghanistan and West Pakistan. Its north-eastern border touches Outer-Mongolia. The shortest route from Sinkiang to West Pakistan is through Pakistan's Gilgit Agency. The centuries-old trade route from West Pakistan to Sinkiang has now been revived through the Huntaka Pass on the border of Hunza state in the Gilgit Agency in West Pakistan.

According to the Chinese archives, about 650 C. E., the Chinese emperor, T'ai Tsung, the second T'ang emperor (627-50 C. E.) of the T'ang dynasty (618-907 C. E.) sent an embassy to Caliph 'Uthman, who, in his turn, sent an official reply by an Arab general, who was received with great honour at Sianfu, the-then capital of China, in 651 C. E. Then, the emperor Hsuan Tsung (713-56 C. E.) sent a huge army under the command of his nephew to fight against an Arab army under general Qutaibah bin Muslim, only to be defeated. Later, Qutaibah sent an embassy asking the Chinese emperor either to accept Islam or pay *Jizyah*. At that time, the Muslim Empire had been extended to the very gates of China. But for the death of Caliph Waleed bin 'Abd al-Malik (in 719 C. E.) and the subsequent assassination of Qutaibah, China would have become a part of the great Muslim Empire.

The Muslims of China were known, until the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty, after a converted Muslim tribe, called Hui-Chi. Thereafter, this name was changed to 'Hui-Hui', by which the Muslims in China are still known. But, the Muslims call themselves 'Ching-Chen' (pronounced 'Ching-Jen'), and Islam is called 'Ching-Chen Chiao' (pronounced 'Ching Jen Jiao'), meaning 'clear and pure'. Caliph Abu Ja'far had sent a well-equipped army of about ten thousand Muslim soldiers to help emperor Su Tsung (11th Tang emperor) in 755 C. E. These Muslim soldiers never returned to Khorasan and formed the nucleus of the naturalised Chinese Muslims of today.

Those Muslim new-comers, who came to China by sea, settled down in Canton and Hangchow. They spread Islam in the south, as the others had done in the north and north-west. Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas had settled in Canton, where still stands to this day a mosque, which was originally built by him.

During the Sung dynasty (960-1280 C. E.), the Chinese court records mention twenty embassies from Arabia. During the Yuan (Mongal) dynasty (1260-1368 C. E.), there were Muslim ministers and governors-general, as well as army generals. Under the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), a number of embassies came to China from the Muslim Empire.

With the fall of the Mings, in 1644, and the rule of the Manchus, the Muslims in China lost all favour. During the 18th and 19th centuries, they were subjected to numerous persecutions and massacres by the Manchu rulers of China (1644-1911), who proved to be the worst enemies of the Muslims and annihilated them ruthlessly.

In 1870 rose the heroic figure of Ya'qub Beg in Sinkiang. Under the title of 'Ataliq Ghazi', he founded there an independent kingdom, which was recognised by Russia and Britain. The Sultan of Turkey conferred on Ya'qub Beg the title of *Ameer al-Momineen*. The Yunnan Muslims had also risen and established their power in that province under their leader, Tu Wen-siu, who had proclaimed himself ruler of the greater part of the Yunnan province, under the title of 'Sultan Sulaiman'. Ya'qub Beg died suddenly in 1877, and Sinkiang was lost to the Muslims.

It is estimated that, upto 1878, over a million Muslims had been massacred throughout China, and Sultan Sulaiman (Tu Wen-siu) had to commit suicide to save himself from a torturous death by the Manchus. However, the Muslims in China today (1966) are still over 10%. The majority of the Chinese Muslims is engaged in the army as soldiers; they are also farmers, traders and labourers. However, the Chinese Muslims are economically poor and backward in education; they are generally Hanafi Sunnis.

(2)

INDIA (Bharat)

THE new, vigorous and positive creed of Islam, whose rational approach to life was in sheer contrast to the Indian mixture of an absurd philosophy, with an erotic, obscene and superstitious mythology, popularised new concepts and affected, to a very remarkable degree, the beliefs of the people and thinkers in India. Indeed, Shankaracharya, who may be called 'the founder of neo-Hinduism', was profoundly affected by Islam.

In the beginning of the 8th century C.E., the Arabs, under their young general, Muhammad bin Qasim, conquered Sind (now in West Pakistan). As a result of moderation and liberalism, displayed by the Arabs, Islam was well established in Sind, where today the people are overwhelmingly Muslim.

After Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi made repeated inroads on India in the end of the 10th century C.E., his descendants ruled, for a long time after him, at Lahore (West Pakistan). They were, however, subdued and replaced by the Ghauri rulers, the first of whom, Shihabuddin Muhammad bin Sam, conquered Northern India and established the first Turko-Afghan Sultanate at Delhi.

Then came Timur's invasion, in 1398, after which the great Chaghatai Turk (misnamed 'Mughal') dynasty was founded in India by Babur. He was succeeded by his son, Humayun, as the 'Mughal' Emperor of India, but the latter lost his throne for a while, being replaced by a great medieval general and statesman, Sher Shah Sur. Humayun was also the

founder in India of the famous 'Mughal School' of painting. His son, Akbar, was a great ruler, too. Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan enriched India by multifarious blessings of their rule. Emperor Aurangzeb 'Alamgir the Great' corrected and improved the morals of the people of India. But, the story of the rapid decline of the power and prestige of the later 'Mughals' is a very depressing narrative.

With the growth of anarchy in India, in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, warring Indian chieftains, in search of allies for furthering their selfish ends, began to court the favour of different European nations, who had fortified and armed their settlements in India. The English succeeded in this confusion, first in establishing their sway over the Carnatic in the south, and then over Bengal. With the income of these areas at their disposal and the wholesale plunder of accumulated wealth, they were able to become a real power in the land.

With the help of trained and disciplined forces, the British went on expanding their territories until they were able to bring the whole of the sub-continent under their sway.

Then arose among Indian Muslims a great man, Syed Ahmad of Delhi, the founder of the Muslim University at Aligarh (U.P., India). He persuaded the Muslims that they could survive only if they took to Western education, and cultivated the favour of the British. Though his policy was strongly opposed by large sections of the Muslim population, his methods were approved by astute Britishers, because they thought that the Western education would undermine the hold of Islam over the Indian Muslims.

A number of Hindu revivalist movements tried to obliterate all traces of Islamic influence from Indian life. Their greatest dislike was for all things Islamic in origin. There was no sphere of life which escaped the notice of the Hindu revivalist. All the bridges built to span the differences by Muslim rulers, statesmen, writers, thinkers and artists, were destroyed by the Hindu revivalists.

The All India Muslim League was founded in 1906. Its main purpose was to emphasize the fact that the Muslims were a separate entity in the body politic of India, and that their interests were not safe in the hands of resurgent Hinduism.

The Hindus started two movements: one of them was called *Shuddhi* which aimed at converting into Hinduism the poorer and backward classes among Muslims *en masse* by questionable methods. The other

was called *Sangathan*, which sought to organise the Hindus into a militant body to overawe the Muslims. Then, the Nehru Report envisaged a government of India so dominated by the Hindus that it opened the eyes of even the staunchest Muslim Congressmen, and the Ali Brothers (Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Muhammad Ali of Rampur state, U.P., India), who had been lieutenants of Gandhi, lost faith with the Hindu Congress.

In 1930, 'Allama Iqbal, conceived the idea of Pakistan; Chaudhari Rahmat Ali publicised it in England; and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah formally demanded it, first time, in 1940. Pakistan became an established fact on August 14, 1947, when the province of East Bengal with the district of Sylhet (Assam) in the east, and the provinces of the West Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan, in the west of northern India, were separated from India to be united into the independent sovereign State of Pakistan by the Indian Independence Act of June 3, 1947.

But the Hindu intelligentsia does not seem to have been reconciled to this division as yet. The Muslims in India swore allegiance to Bharat on August 15, 1947, and saluted her flag, but, all the same, had undoubted sympathy for Pakistan. The father of the Hindu nation—Gandhi—saw the nature of this conflict, its dangerous possibilities, and was resolved to remove it; but destiny willed otherwise. He, himself, was removed by a fellow-Hindu in January, 1948.

Genocide and race-extirpation of about 12% Muslims, still in Bharat, continues unabated. They are being systematically hounded out and decimated. Their mass massacres go on relentlessly; 12% voiceless, defenceless and helpless Muslims in Hindustan are suffering from untold oppressions and miseries. Innocent Muslims have been rotting in jails of India. Forcible conversion of Muslims and abduction of Muslim women have been done by Hindu and Sikh hooligans on a very large scale. Mosques' demolition and desecration have been done systematically. Out of about 400 mosques occupied in Delhi alone, about half of them were converted into Hindu temples and Sikh gurdwaras.

After the Partition, over 8 million Muslim refugees from all parts of India entered Pakistan; against them, about 5 million Hindus and Sikhs left Pakistan for India, leaving an excess of about 3 million Muslim refugees over those who left Pakistan to be rehabilitated and settled in the newly-born State of Pakistan.

Before the partition of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, there were about 100 million Muslims in the undivided India. Now (1966), there are still in India about 12% of them. The area of Bharat is 1,218,327 square miles; and population (1966 estimate) about 485 million. India was declared a republic inside the British Commonwealth of Nations on January 26, 1950. The President of India is Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, and the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, daughter of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. New Delhi is the capital of the country. Some of the greatest show-pieces of "Indian civilization" today, like the Taj Mahal and Moti Masjid at Agra, and the Red Fort, *Darbar-i-Khas*, and Qutub Minar, etc. at Delhi, are, in fact, the Muslim monuments, reminiscent of the grandeur of the Muslim civilization in India.

The area of Jammu and Kashmir State (in dispute between Pakistan and India) is 84,471 square miles; and population (1966 estimate) over five million. Above 85 percent of the population of the State is Muslim. The capital is Srinagar. For the last 19 years or so, its approximately one-third portion (in north-west and west) has been in Kashmiri hands, with the seat of their administration at Muzaffarabad; the rest is under the yoke of the Indian forces. The popular Kashmiri leader, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, is now in a jail in India. Cease-fire in the protracted Indo-Pakistan war on Kashmir was effected on January 1, 1949. Both India and Pakistan had agreed to decide the Kashmir issue by a free plebiscite for the entire State as a unit. Indian army is continually pushing the Kashmiri Muslims into Azad Kashmir, and Hindus are brought in to settle there. A reign of terror prevails in Kashmir under India.

The present international role of India is to spite the People's Republic of China and to participate in the global cold war with the U.S.A. against China. As a beneficiary of Soviet Russia, India is a pro-Communist country; but, as a double-dealer, she receives doles from both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.; while as an anti-Chinese country, India is today the meanest stooge of both the U.S.A. and the Soviet Russia.

After its ignominious defeat in the Rann of Kutchh battle in August, 1965, at the hands of the Pakistani forces, India invaded West Pakistan without warning or ultimatum during the night, as a thief, on September 6, 1965; but the valiant Pakistani forces defeated the Indians and frustrated their mean designs against Pakistan. On the mediation of the Security Council of the United Nations, cease-fire came into effect on September 23, 1965. But the intransigence of India is most unhelpful in the peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

On January 10, 1966, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Premier of India, died of heart failure immediately after he signed the 'Tashkent Declaration' with President Ayub Khan of Pakistan, and was succeeded by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, daughter of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. She praised Shastri for attacking Pakistan and ordered war preparations on a larger scale. India is now working on H-Bomb and is building guided missiles and other nuclear war materials in famine conditions in the country.

It is a great irony that, along with Israel, the United Arab Republic, too, is actively assisting India in her war preparations against Pakistan. The U. A. R. President, Jamal Abdel Nasser, opposes Pakistan to please India and rejects the laudable plan and efforts for the Muslim unity being made by the Saudi Arabian monarch, King Feisal. The un-Islamic policies of Nasser have disturbed the peace and tranquility in the entire Arab world.

(3)

SOVIET RUSSIA

SOVIET Russia occupies one-sixth of the earth's surface. Its total area is about 12,248,800 sq. m., and total population (1966 estimate) over 230 million. The Muslims in U.S.S.R. are over 20%. Soviet Russia is the largest continuous State territory in the world. Moscow is the capital. Other important cities are : Leningrad, Kiev, Baku, Odessa, Tashkent, Tbilisi, Astrakhan, Erivan, Alma-Ata, Samarqand, Ashkabad, Sevastopol, Frunze, Stalinabad and Bukhara. The 'Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.)' is a federal State formed on the basis of the "voluntary" association of sixteen Soviet Socialist Republics :

The following six are predominantly Muslim Republics :

1. The Azerbaijan (Caucasian) S.S.R. ; area : 33,000 square miles ; population (1966 estimate) : 4,500,000 ; capital : Baku.
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The U.S.S.R. was founded on the initiative and under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin at the first All-Union Congress of Soviets, which opened on December 30, 1922. The U.S.S.R. is a State of a new type; it is a Socialist State of workers and peasants. Political power in the Soviet Union is vested in the Soviets (Councils), or Working People's Deputies. The economic foundation of the Soviet Union is the socialist system of economy and socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production. The U.S.S.R. is an industrial power. From an agrarian country, it has grown into a land of modern industry according to the last word in science and technique. The U.S.S.R. is also a collective farm power. The intellectuals of the U.S.S.R., who are directly derived from the workers and peasants, jointly with them, wield the power in the country. The U.S.S.R. is a multi-national State. It is inhabited by over 180 different nations, nationalities and tribes, of which 60 constitute large and fully formed nations.

Soviet Asia (or Russian Turkistan) stretches to the boundaries of Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and China, and overlooks West Pakistan. This Asiatic territory occupies more than three-fourths of the Soviet Union. From West Pakistan, Soviet Asia is separated by a nine-mile wide and four-mile high mountain strip of Afghan (Wakhan) territory.

The Muslims have a great influence on the life of the Soviet Union. They are tightly woven into the fabric of the Soviet life in the woof of its internal affairs and in the warp of its foreign relations. Islam is both within its borders and without. The entire southern frontier of the U.S.S.R. is skirted by Muslim neighbours—Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Sinkiang (China). Out of an approximate total population (1966 estimate) of 230 million, over 20% are Muslims, inhabiting the five Central Asian Republics, a Caucasian Republic of Azerbaijan, an autonomous republic of Tataria, and the Crimean peninsula in the Baltic Sea. The Muslims in the U.S.S.R. are governed by their own religious centre in Ufa. This former Russian Turkistan is overwhelmingly populated by Muslims.

Bukhara contains the tomb of the renowned Muslim saint, Hadrat Baqa'uddin, who died and was buried there in 850 Hijri. The Shah-i-Zindah mausoleum in Samarqand contains the tomb of the saint Qasim, son of Hadrat 'Abbas. In Tashkent, there is the tomb of Imam Kaffal Shashi, a relative of Hadrat Abu Bakr, who died there in 336 H. E. Throughout Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kirghizia, there are many monuments to Muslim holy men who are respected in the entire Muslim world.

Autonomous Soviet Tataria: Both Kazan (the capital) and the town of Astrakhan have great Muslim populations of Tatars. Tataria is situated in the Volga region. In 1920 was formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Republic out of the former Kazan, Ufa, Samara, Vyarka and Simbersk provinces. The region is full of Muslims.

Within the Uzbek republic is the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous S.S.R., situated in the valley of the Amu-Darya (Oxus) and in the deserts of Kyzyl-Kum, and inhabited mainly by the Muslim people known as Kara-Kalpaks.

The Pamirs: Now, the inhabitants of Mountain Badakhshan in the Pamirs live in Khorog, Rushan, Vanch and other parts of the Pamir, on an altitude of about 15,000 feet above sea-level. The region is full of Muslims.

Caucasia: Area: 110,970 square miles; Population (1966 estimate): about 10,000,000 (Muslims, over 65%). Caucasia is now a unit of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.). Its Muslim population contains the Azerbaijanian, Tatar, Turk, Kurd and Iranian races. The famous peak of Mt. Elburz (18,465 feet) is in the Caucasus mountains. The Azerbaijan S.S.R. has an Autonomous S.S.R., named Daghestan, which has a large Muslim population; its capital is Makhach-Kala.

Crimea: Area: 9,952 square miles; Population (1966 estimate): 2,000,000 (Muslims, over 65%); Capital: Simferopol. Crimea is an Autonomous S.S.R. in the Soviet Union. In the extreme south, near Sevastopol, is situated the ancient Tatar town of Bakhshi Serai, which contains the famous mosaic palace of Khan Serai. Within the boundary walls of this wonderful palace is the world-famous 'Fountain of Tears.' The Muslim population of Crimea was considerably decreased by their forcible deportations earlier in the present regime of Soviet Russia.

In Soviet Russia, the Muslim peoples are spread over a wide extent of territory stretching from Azerbaijan to the northern part of European Russia, and from the mouth of the Volga to the frontiers of Chinese Turkistan (Sinkiang). The majority of Russian Muslims is of Turkish origin, remnant of the ancient Tatar State, called *Dasht al-Kipchak* in the Oriental sources, and the 'Golden Horde' in those of Europe.

Lenin affirmed that the Communists regarded the religious beliefs and customs of the Muslims as sacred, and that they recognised the validity of the *shari'at*. Stalin also spoke in the same vein; he tried to assure

the Muslims that the Soviet government considered the *shari'at* as valid and as in force as the laws of all other peoples living in Russia.

On January 23, 1918, the 'Law of Separation of Church from State' was enacted; it was signed by Lenin. On April 8, 1929, a more detailed law was decreed, dealing with all the aspects of religion.

The goal of the Soviet constitution of 1936 and 1953 was the abolition of the three traditional institutions upon which an Islamic society is based: 1) the *Waqf* (i.e., endowment properties); 2) the *shari'at* (i.e., the Quranic Law); and 3) the system of Islamic education.

During the last war, a number of Muslims were accused to have been undependable. This accusation, however, does not justify the extinction of whole peoples. That fate befell the Chechen, Ingush, Balkar and Karachai republics in Caucasia in 1944. Their large numbers were butchered on the spot and the survivors, over 600,000, were deported to Siberia. A similar treatment was meted out to the Crimean Tatars, who were totally uprooted.

It is most difficult to ascertain the exact size of the present Muslim community in Soviet Russia. Ivar Spector in his work (*The Soviet Union and the Muslim World*, 1917-1956) mentioned the figure of 30 million. However, the Russian Muslim refugees believe that there may be over 20% Muslims in Soviet Russia.

Now, the present position is that, the Soviet Union has made Tashkent the centre of Islamic studies, and at its university the Quran and Islamic theology are studied for one day a week. Despite all the anti-religious Soviet propaganda and activities, a large number of Muslims in the U.S.S.R. have remained staunch followers of their faith. Communism has not yet been able to destroy Islam in Communist countries—Soviet Russia, China and Eastern Europe. Not only has Islam been preserved in the hearts of the older generation, but it has also deep roots among the young, even though they have been exposed, during their whole lifetime, to atheistic propaganda. The Muslims in Communist countries are not yet *uskodels* ('confirmed Communists').

From 1945 to 1960, no less than 38 nations won their freedom from Western control. The overwhelmingly peaceful process of national liberation benefited some 770 million people living in an area of over 9.2 million square miles. In contrast, between 1920 and 1958, the Soviet Union extended its control, or exclusive political influence, over 17 countries and 8 regions (parts of other countries). The area of this expansion, in which

China has been in turn a victim and a partner, is 7 million square miles, and the population involved is about 800 million.

Total U.S.S.R.	...	7,877,598	(1966 est.)	230,000,000
			sq. m.	
The Rest of Communist				
World	...	7,000,000	(1966 est.)	approx.
			sq. m.	800,000,000
Total Communist World	...	15 million	Approx.	1,030,000,000
			sq. m.	

On December 9, 1965, Soviet President Mikoyan resigned and was replaced by Nikolai Podgorny. Leonid Brezhnev is the Communist Party Chief and Alexei Kosygin Prime Minister of the Soviet government.

(4)

THAILAND

(Former Siam)

THE Arabs had opened at first their maritime trade with South-East Asia, and converted to Islam many of its inhabitants, especially in Indonesia and Malaya which are overwhelmingly Muslim now; and Thailand, Philippines, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and Ceylon contain great Muslim communities. The first Spanish settlement in the Philippines was established in 1565; the Archipelago being named after the name of the Spanish king, Philip II.

The Dutch captured the island of Java (Indonesia) in 1619, and made Batavia their main base in the East Indies. The Portuguese still retain, under their possession, the eastern half of the island of Timor in the Indonesian Archipelago. The British acquired the island of Singapore in Malaya (which became a strategic British naval base in the Pacific) from the Muslim Malayan Sultan of Johore-Bahru. Gradually, all the Muslim Malay States became British possessions, their Sultans accepting the British suzerainty.

Indo-China: Area : 286,000 square miles; population (1966 estimate): over 28 million. This region in the south-eastern tip of the Continent of Asia—a peninsula—has equally been a pawn in the global game of power politics and political and economic exploitation between the Western and Communist blocs. Before the last world war, Cochin-China was a French colony, and Tonkin, Annam, Cambodia and Laos were French protectorates. Now, Indo-China is divided into four different independent States: (1) North Vietnam (Communist); (2) South Vietnam

(anti-Communist); (3) Cambodia (pro-Communist); and (4) Laos (neutral). There are over 5 million Muslims in this region.

Thailand is a constitutional kingdom. The reigning king is Bhumibol Adulyadet. Until June 24, 1932, the constitution of Thailand was an absolute monarchy. On that date, a *coup d'etat* was effected and a provisional constitution act was promulgated. This was replaced by the constitution of December 10, 1932, which, in turn, was superseded by a new constitution on May 10, 1946. A military *coup d'etat* on November 8, 1947, which put Marshal Pibul Songgram into power again, was followed by a revision of the constitution, which was promulgated on March 23, 1949. Under this constitution, supreme power belongs to the nation, and the king, who is the head of the nation, exercises the legislative power by and with the advice and consent of the parliament, which consists of a senate and a house of representatives. The executive power is exercised by the state council.

Thailand is a member country, along with Pakistan and the Philippines, of South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (S.E.A.T.O.). On January 1, 1946, a peace agreement was signed between Britain and India on the one hand and Thailand on the other, bringing to an end the state of war, which had lasted since December 1941, when Thailand became an ally of Japan. The new treaty provided for the return to Britain of the four Malay and two Shan states ceded to Thailand by Japan in July, 1945; and Thailand pledged herself not to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Kra. France, too, concluded a treaty with Thailand (November 17, 1946) by which Thailand restored the Indo-Chinese territories ceded by the Vichy government in 1941, and annulled the Convention of Tokyo of May 9, 1941.

The area of Thailand is 200,148 square miles. The estimated (1966) population of the country is about 30 million; Muslims being over 10%. Bangkok is the capital. The prevailing religion is Buddhism. Thailand is, like Burma, a profusely Buddhist priest-infested country, where all the internal troubles emanate from this overcrowded priestly class. Bangkok is the home of several universities, e.g., the Chulalongkorn University; the University of Moral and Political Sciences; and the University of Fine Arts etc., but the standard of education is generally low in Thailand. The Muslim community is backward in all respects, and the government does lamentably little for them.

Thailand was the only independent country in South-East Asia before the last world war. She owed her independence to the political

rivalry between Britain and France in the region; without Britain, Thailand would have been swallowed by France. But, Britain benefited herself by obtaining the monopoly of Thai trade and products. Before the last war, all the countries in South-East Asia, excepting Thailand, were under the rule of one foreign power or the other: the Philippines under the U.S.A.; Indo-China under France; Indonesia under the Netherlands; and Malaya, Burma and Ceylon under Britain. The Japanese offensive, during the last war in this area, liquidated completely all the foreign governments in South-East Asia. A cry of 'Asia for the Asians' was raised, and a 'Co-Prosperity Sphere for East Asia' was established by Japan. Before the Japanese evacuated South-East Asia, they left behind them the legacy of all visible emblems of national liberty and political independence. The white man (the U.S.A.) defeated Japan by his atom bomb, but Japan had already given the Asian nations the formidable weapon of political self-consciousness, which no atom bomb can suppress.

The Thai Muslims mainly inhabit the southern provinces of Thailand adjoining Malaya. In spite of their backwardness, the Thai Muslims are zealous followers of their faith. They have an Islam College in Bangkok, where their organisation, 'the Central Muslim of Thailand' is influential. The government of Thailand has also appointed a *Shaikh al-Islam*, who is an *ex-officio* State Councillor for Muslim Affairs, but he is not necessarily a popular figure among the Thai Muslims themselves. Bangkok contains a number of good mosques, which are found in other Thai towns, too, where Muslims reside. Unfortunately, there is no Thai translation of the Holy Quran as yet.

In September, 1965, when India attacked Pakistan, neither Thailand nor Philippines came to Pakistan's help, thus rendering the S.E.A.T.O. pact useless and ineffective.

(5)

THE PHILIPPINES

THE Philippines form the largest island group of the Malay Archipelago. They were ceded by Spain to the United States of America on December 10, 1898. The Republic of the Philippines came into existence on July 4, 1946, by agreement with the United States government. Filipinos may enlist voluntarily in the U.S. forces.

The Philippines is composed of 7,097 islands and islets. The total area is 115,600 square miles. The 12 most important islands are: (1) Luzon; (2) Mindanao; (3) Samar; (4) Negros; (5) Palawan; (6) Panay; (7) Mindoro; (8) Leyte; (9) Cebu; (10) Bohol; (11) Masbate; and (12) Sulu.

The total population (1966 estimate) is about 33 million, with over 11% Muslims. Manila is the capital. A new capital, to be known as Quezon City, is being built just north-east of Manila. A new language, based on Tagalog (a Malayan dialect), is the official national language of the country. The dominant religion of the islands is Roman Catholic. There are over 50,000 Buddhists, 20,000 Shintoists, and about 700,000 pagans. The Muslims number over 3 million.

Cebu is the most densely populated island. Mindanao, with an area of 37,000 square miles, is the second island in size in the Philippines, and is divided into eight provinces. It is populated mostly by Muslim tribes. Baguio city—the playground of the Philippines—is the summer capital, which is 5,009 feet above sea level.

The Spanish rule lasted in the Philippines for over 3½ centuries, but it was never popular. The Spanish religious orders made forcible

mass conversions of the Filipinos to Christianity; their friars exploited the indigenous population and enriched themselves.

The Governors of Sulu at Golo, of Cotabato province, of Lanao del Norte, and of Lanao del Sur at Marawi city (Haji Makki Alonto) are Muslims. 'Maranao' is the language in the Muslim south; 'Taozoz' is the dialect used in the Sulu archipelago. The *Kamil-ul-Islam* College in Marawi city (Mindanao) is the only institution for higher Muslim education in the country.

The *Moros*, i.e., the Muslim Filipinos, are found in the large island of Mindanao, in Cotabato, and in the chain of tiny islands of the Sulu archipelago, as well as in some parts of the Palawan island and in the mountain province of Luzon.

According to the *Moro* history, Mukdum, an Arab missionary from Malacca, landed in Sulu and laid the foundation of Islam in the Philippines. In the 14th century, Raja Baguinda, prince of Menangkabaw (Sumatra), led an army of Muslim invaders to Sulu. In 1450, Abu Bakr, another great Muslim leader from Johore reached Sulu and persuaded the Sulu Filipinos to embrace Islam. The conquest of Mindanao is attributed to Sarif Kabungsuwan, another Muslim leader from Johore. He became the first Muslim Sultan of Mindanao in 1475, where he converted the natives to Islam. Another Arab missionary, Sarif Alawi, arrived thereafter and completed the Islamic propaganda work of Sultan Kabungsuwan in Mindanao.

From Mindanao and Sulu, the message of Islam was conveyed across the Visayas to the northern islands of the Philippine Archipelago. Until 1571, Raja Sulaiman occupied the city of Manila, but the Spaniards attacked, and Raja Sulaiman was killed. Thus ended the Muslim settlement in the northern Philippine island of Luzon. The *Moros*, upholding their faith, fought the Spanish invaders, who tried to impose Christianity on them by force, but the Spaniards utterly failed either to evangelize or subdue them. The *Moros* could not be conquered by force. The more they were suppressed, the more they resisted and the harder they fought. These Muslim heroes of the Mindanao island fought first the Spaniards then the Americans for the preservation of Islam and the independence of Muslim *Moros* in the Philippines.

In 1899, the Spanish troops evacuated Mindanao and Sulu, and were replaced by American soldiers. Spain ruled over the Philippines for 377 years. The Americans also fought the *Moros* but soon realized that the Muslim Filipinos were unconquerable. So, the Americans finally

decided to conclude a peace treaty with them. Thus, a treaty (the 'Bates Treaty') was concluded between the Sultans of Mindanao and Sulu and General Bates, representing the U.S.A. The Americans gave autonomy to the *Moros* and gained their confidence by keeping their promises. Ultimately, the two peoples became good friends.

From the fall of Bataan in May 1942 to the end of 1944, during the last world war, the *Moros* proved the conquering Japanese that, in the Philippines, the Muslims were to be treated respectfully. The Muslim Filipinos (all Sunnis) are largely made up of Sulus, Samals, Maguin-danos and Maranaos. Smaller groups are composed of Yakans, Badjaos and Sanggils. These people live in Lanao and Cotabato provinces, on the coasts of Zamboanga, the islands of Sulu, and the southern tip of Palawan.

In 1926, a small group of Pakistani Muslims formed the Muslim Association, the nucleus of the present 'Muslim Association of the Philippines' at Manila. In 1955, the project of a mosque and a 'Muslim Cultural Centre' in Manila was planned. A temporary mosque was first established in a private court-yard in San Juan, Rizal, Manila, which was later transferred to Quiapo in the city. Finally, it was shifted to its present site at 645 Echague Street, near the historic Malacanang Palace. Former Senator al-Haj Ahmad Domocao Alonto, the greatest living Muslim in the Philippines and the President of the Muslim Association, is the spirit behind this project. Another great Filipino Muslim is Salipada K. Pendatun in Manila. The present President of the Philippines is Ferdinand Marcos.

(6)

BURMA

THE Union of Burma came formally into existence on January 4, 1948. On this day, the last British governor handed over authority to Sao Shwe Thaik, the first President of the Republic of Burma. Burma was admitted to the United Nations on April 19, 1948. The constitution of the Union of Burma was passed on September 24, 1947. The Union of Burma consists of 1) the territories formerly governed by Britain through the British governor of Burma, and 2) the Karenni States. The former Federated Shan States and the Wa States were combined in what was known as 'the Shan State'; the Myitkyina and Bhamo districts were known as 'the Kachin State'; and the former Karenni States, i.e., Kantarawaddy, Bawlake and Kyebogyi as 'the Karenni State'. The President of the Union is elected by both chambers of parliament in joint session for a 5-year term. He has no right of vetoing bills.

The Union parliament consists of the President, the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Nationalities. The total area of the Union of Burma is 261,610 square miles, and the total population (1966 estimate) is about 24 million; the Muslims being about 7 %. The people of Burma belong to the Tibeto-Chinese (or Tibeto-Burman) family. Numerically, the order of the different peoples in Burma is as under: Burmans, Karens, Shans, Indo-Pakistanis, Chins, Kachins, Chinese and Indo-Burmans. The six northern and 28 southern Shan States, federated since 1922, are integral part of Burma, forming, as they did, part of the old Burmese kingdom. To the south of the southern Shan States are the three Karenni States, which formed a group of feudatory States, and were not part of Burma in strict sense.

The *Zerbadis* in Burma are the offsprings of the union of Indian Muslims and the Burman Buddhist women. The Arakan Muslims are the descendants of the Arakanese women, who had married the Muslims of East Pakistan, particularly Chittagong. They are almost exclusively confined to the Akyab district in Burma. The Arakan Muslim *Kamans* are said to have been the descendants of the followers of Shah Shuja', the second son of the famous Mughal Emperor Shah Jehan, who had fled to Arakan in 1660. The British had annexed Burma in 1885, after the third Anglo-Burmese War, and the Burmese king was deposed. Burma, then, became a part of British India. In 1923, it was constituted into a separate province of British India. In 1937, it was separated from India and became a distinct political unit in the then British empire. In 1942, the Japanese drove out Britain and occupied Burma; they remained in this occupation for almost three years. In June, 1945, the Japs were thrown out and the British re-entered Burma. All the Burmese political parties, then in existence, formed into one united national resistance movement, a common front, called 'the Anti-Fascist People's League' (A.F.P.I.)

The principal leader of this resistance movement against the foreign exploitation was General Aung San. A delegation was sent to the United Kingdom, where a settlement was effected—'the Attlee-Aung San Agreement' of January, 1947. The constitution of present Burma is half-way between a unitary and a federal State. The powers of both the houses of parliament (the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Nationalities) are almost absolutely equal; neither can overrule the other.

The Karen tribesmen in southern Burma rose in revolt in September, 1948. The rebels were backed by the 'Karen National Union'. The Karens (over 2½ million) demanded a separate Karen State. They had captured important towns of Moulmein, Shwegin, Mandalay and Kyaukkyi. The president of the 'Karen National Union' was Saw Ba U Gyi. Thakin Nu had become the Premier of Burma in July, 1947, after the murder of U. Aung San and five of his cabinet colleagues.

Burma is one of the world's newest republics, but not one of its newest nations. Burma saw some of the heaviest fighting in the last world war. Much of the country's 261,610 square miles is heavily forested. About 70 percent of her 24 million people work in agriculture. Its capital is Rangoon. General Ne Win, the present (1966) boss of Burma, is a soldier with some Chinese blood in him, who was a post-office clerk in the 1930s, when nationalist ferment against the British was stirring Burma. Joining the revolutionary Thakin group, Ne Win was one of the famed 'Thirty Comrades', who were smuggled to Japan in 1941 for military

training. When the Japanese occupied Burma, Ne Win came with them, but, like the other Thakins, soon discovered that the Japanese occupiers were very cruel, and began fighting them.

Burma is an overwhelmingly Buddhist country. The present (1966) government of Burma has made Buddhism the State religion (as is the case in Thailand), having ignored the bitter opposition by all the non-Buddhist minorities in the country. Rangoon (like Bangkok) is a city of Buddhist pagodas, the best being Shwe Dagon and Sule. Shwe Dagon pagoda is the largest, oldest, most beautiful and magnificent, and also the richest Buddhist shrine in the world. The 'Great Sacred Cave', where Buddha is known to have received his 'Enlightenment', is also near Rangoon. Rangoon has a particular attraction for the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent—the tomb of the last Mughal Emperor, Sirajuddin Bahadur Shah 'Zafar'. Burma overflows with yellow-clad Buddhist priests, known as *phungis*; there are hundreds of thousands of them, roaming everywhere and claiming respect of the people, and living on them, but doing nothing themselves.

Two Urdu daily newspapers—*Daur-e-Jadeed* and *Parvaz*—are published from Rangoon. The Muslims of Rangoon are successfully and admirably running the *Jami'atul Ulema*, a full-fledged hospital, an orphanage, and there is a board for the translation and production of the Burmese version of the Holy Quran. There are several Muslim schools and numerous mosques. The majority of the Burmese Muslims occupies the territory, bordering on the frontier of East Pakistan, called Arakan. U Thant, the present (1966) Secretary-General of the United Nations, is a Burmese citizen. Among the most prominent Muslim citizens of Rangoon are: U. Khin Maung Lat ('Abd al-Latif), former Judicial Minister, and President of 'the Union of Burma Islamic Religious Affairs Council'; and M.A. Raschid, former Minister of Industries, Labour and Mines.

(7)

CEYLON

CEYLON, the ancient 'Taprobane' ('Tamraparni'—the island of 'dusky leaves'), is an island in the Indian Ocean, by the south of India. Its area is 25,332 square miles. It was in Ceylon that the Hindu goddess, Sita (wife of Hindu god, Rama, the hero of the mythological fable, 'Ramayana') was abducted to and held as his illegal concubine by Ravana.

In 1796, the British government annexed the Dutch settlements to the presidency of Madras; in 1802, the maritime provinces of Ceylon were separated from India and formed into a Crown colony. Passing through various stages of increasing self-government, Ceylon reached fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth, when the Ceylon independence Act, 1947, came into force on February 4, 1948.

There have been the following political parties in Ceylon: United National Party; Sama Samaj Party (Trotskyist Communists); Tamil Congress; Bolshevik Sama Samaj Party; Communists; Labour and Independents. The Sinhalese predominate in Ceylon. The troublesome Hindu Tamil immigrants from southern India formed about 12 percent of the population. Then, there are the Muslims, the Burghers (Dutch and Portuguese strains) and Euro-Ceylonese. The prevailing religion is Buddhism, and the Sinhalese are generally Buddhists, including some Christian converts. The total population of Ceylon (1966 estimate) is about 12 million. There are about 6½ million Buddhists, 1½ million Hindus, about 7 % Muslims, and another million Christians. Colombo is the capital. The present Prime Minister of Ceylon is Dudley Senanayake.

Ceylon, war-time headquarters of the South—East Asia Command, has long been one of Britain's strategic outposts.

A group of soldiers unsuccessfully planned to assassinate top cabinet ministers and take over the control of the government in late February, 1966.

The Muslim inhabitants are governed by their religious laws, modified by local enactments, in matters such as inheritance, marriage and divorce.

The Muslims of Ceylon are very zealous in their faith. Colombo has the famous Muslim 'Zahira College', the All-Ceylon Young Men's Muslim Association, and the Pakistan Association. Faleel Abdul Cafoor is the renowned Muslim philanthropist in Colombo. There are a number of mosques in the country.

Both in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, there are numerous islands, which are inhabited by the Muslims. Fiji islands, in the Pacific Ocean, have an area of 7,083 square miles, and the estimated (1966) population of about 600,000. Suva on the southern coast of the Viti Levu island, is the capital. Fiji is a British colony. It comprises a group of about 250 islands. There are over 150,000 Muslims in the islands. Britain had occupied Fiji islands in October 1874.

The Maldiv Islands, 400 miles south-west of Ceylon, are a group of 12 coral atolls, richly clothed with coconut palms. The estimated (1666) population of the islands is about 150,000, all Muslims, who are great navigators. The islands are ruled by a Sultan.

CHAPTER 21

NON-INDEPENDENT MUSLIMS

(B)

IN AFRICA

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INTRODUCTION

ISLAM IN EAST AFRICA

FEW other lands can owe more to the civilising influences of Islam than do those countries, which lie along the eastern shores of Africa between Cape Guardafui in the north and Delagoa Bay in the south. The waves of Islamic conquest and culture, which spread into Africa upon the death of the great Prophet of Islam (may peace be on him) in the 7th century C.E., found a well-traversed sea-route already open to this coast.

Haji Sa'id of Oman and his community are of special note in the annals of Islam upon the coast, for he set up, in those early years of the 8th century C.E., a form of government of a strikingly democratic structure, which has endured upon the East African coast from that time until today and which was embodied into the framework of the former British administration there. Haji Sa'id became the *Mugwana wa Yumbe* (the head of the government), and his system enfranchised every citizen of the Hedabu State (north of Mombasa). With slight modification in adjustment with modern conditions, this same system works upon the coast even today.

By 739 C.E., some of the Zaidiyahs, supporters of Zaid ibn 'Ali—a dissenter from the Shi'ah faction—established themselves at Shangaya. By 908 C.E., the ports of Maqdishu and Barawa had been founded by settlers from Oman. Other great Muslim citadels were Manda (on the island of that name), and Ozi and Shaka (near the Tana delta); and southward were Mombasa, Kilwa and Mozambique, commanding the gold traffic of Sofala. At the end of the 10th century C.E., a convoy of ships sailed from an Iranian port on the Persian Gulf to the East African coast of *Zinj*.

According to the Swahili Kilwa Chronicle (*Khabar al-Amu*), there were seven ships carrying a fugitive Iranian Amir, Hasan, and his six sons, of whom 'Ali bin Hasan landed at Kilwa and founded there the great Muslim State, which was to play a prominent role in the affairs of the coast.

Amir Hasan's other sons settled in Shagha, Pemba and Mafia islands, and friendly contact was soon established between Kilwa and Zanzibar, where an Iranian colony had already been established. The great mosque at Kilwa, whose noble ruins still stand, dates from the reign of Muhammad bin Salaiman al-Hasan (1385 C.E.). Likewise, the ruins of many mosques and mansions of great architectural beauty at Zanzibar, Lamu, Pate, Gede and Maqdishu are testimony to the light of Islam shed at that period upon this dark barbaric coast of East Africa.

About 1203 C.E., Sulaiman bin Sulaiman bin Muzafa al-Nabahany and his court from Oman came to Pate island, became the Sultan of Pate, and founded the great Nabahan dynasty, which was to rule upon the Swahili coast until modern times.

By the dawn of the 14th century, the fair citadels of Islam lay like a string of lustrous pearls along the green cushion of the verdant coast. Duarte Barbosa, writing in the early 1500's, has left us vivid and entertaining pictures of those prosperous ports, especially those of Sofala and Mombasa.

Since the days of Haji Sa'id down to the present time, the deeply ingrained spirit of liberty, love of intellectual freedom, and right of free speech have been treasured privileges of the Islamic social system throughout East Africa. Such, then, were the people of East Africa, enjoying the enviable Islamic civilisation, when the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama first beheld them and their cities, in the spring of 1498. In that evening of the late 15th century, the bright star of Islam on the coast was overshadowed by a cloud, black and dreary, which was not to disperse for the next two centuries. The Portuguese were inspired by no peaceful colonial ambitions upon this coast. Their avowed intentions were to destroy Islam, to secure for themselves the great gold traffic of Sofala, to dominate the Indian Ocean, to banish all Muslims from its waters, and to divert the Muslim monopoly of the wealthy trade with the East by way of the new Cape route into the coffers of Portugal.

Our space forbids any details here of the grim history of these two centuries. Suffice it to say that (excepting Malindi), not one of the fair

cities of the coast escaped the despoiling hands of the Portuguese invaders. Mombasa was burned to the ground five times, its people put to the sword or carried into slavery; yet it rose a gain and again from its smoking ashes, and stands today with the scarlet banner of Islam's liberty flying from its battlements. Kilwa was ravaged with the fire and sword; its people were driven from their homes. The mosques and mansions of Lamu and Pate were pulled to the ground. In the course of a few short years, by fire and sword, torture and bloodshed, there was brought to virtual ruin the noble edifice of commerce and art, which the Muslim peoples of the coast had built over the course of centuries.

It was not until 1729 that the invaders were finally driven from the entire coast north of Mozambique, but by the close of the 17th century, their power had been broken and Islam was once again in the ascendant. In 1660, the East African Muslims had appealed to the Imam of Oman to help them against their oppressors and, after a long struggle, by 1689, with Oman's aid, they had driven the Portuguese from their shores.

The dawn of a new era in East African Islam began in 1832, when Sayyid Sa'id bin Sultan of al-Bu Sa'id dynasty in Muscat transferred his capital to Zanzibar. With his reign, a new prosperity was founded in East Africa, for it was he who laid out the now world-famous clove plantations of Zanzibar island.

In the reign of Sayyid Barghash (1870—88), the German emissary, Karl Peters, violated his territories and, by spurious contracts with unauthorised village headmen, laid claim to 60,000 square miles of the Sultan's territory. All along the coast, hatred against the Germans was bitter and deep, and, in 1905, the whole populace arose against their new European oppressors in the great 'Maji-Maji' rebellion.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, Islam began to penetrate along the great caravan routes far into the hinterland of East Africa. In Portuguese East Africa, through Mozambique, Sofala, and their sister ports, traders had carried Islam to the pagans of the interior at an early date, and, more recently, into Nyasaland (now Malawi).

Islam entered Uganda both from the eastern coast and from the north. As early as 1822, Muslim traders from Zanzibar had made their way to Uganda, and they were favourably received by the Kabaka (the native ruler). In 1880, however, by the advent of rival factions of Christian missions, the bitter antagonisms, which sprang up among their followers, and their intrigues with Kabaka Mwanga, plunged the whole country in a welter of bloodshed and civil war. It is to the credit of Islam that in

no case were these bitter and sanguinary affrays actuated by the Muslims, who, throughout this unedifying conflict between the churches of the West, did no more than to defend their faith. The Christian missionaries only united to fall upon the Muslims, and did not hesitate to ally themselves with the pagans to destroy Islam. In that, they were not successful. When British intervention restored peace in 1892, Lord Lugard allotted three provinces to the Muslims—a small grace; it is because Islam has never had influential friends in the West to plead its cause.

Uganda's near neighbour, Ethiopia (Abyssinia), lies somewhat outside the orbit of the East African Islam, but the eastern coast contributed in no small measure to an early commerce and civilisation, which flowered in that land. Arabs had traded with Ethiopia in pre-Islamic times and carried on trade there during the great Prophet's life-time, when to save them from the wrath of the Quraish, in 617 C.E., the Prophet sent a band of his converts to the court of the Christian Negus for refuge. Over the centuries, many others followed in their footsteps. By the end of the 12th century, the great Muslim citadel of Harrar had been built, which today represents one of the bulwarks of Islam there. From the eastern coast, the Galla, who had come into contact in the 10th century C.E., with the Muslims of *Zinj*, were early converts, and, in migrations of later years, carried Islam across Ethiopia's frontiers. The faith, likewise, spread by caravan from the noble Islamic port of Zeila and elsewhere along the coast, and, by the 14th century, had become dominant from Zeila to Harrar, until, in the early 16th century, Islam dominated almost the whole country.

The Coptic Church has clung with rigid conservatism to archaic traditions and has opposed and obstructed alike both the attempted reforms of successive emperors and the spread of Islamic culture. In 1916, Emperor Menelik's nephew, Lij Yassu, whom he had named his successor, became Muslim and made an ill-timed attempt to break away from the Christian Coptic domination. Taking some factions of the Muslim community into confidence, he conceived a plan to assume the throne by way of joining in the *Jihad* (holy war), which the Sultan of Turkey had then declared. But it came to nothing. Today, under the rule of the bigoted Christian Emperor Haile Selassie, there is no promise that the age-old breach between the Muslim and the Copt will be bridged.

In Kenya and Tanganyika (now Tanzania, with Zanzibar), Islam spread from the coast far and wide to the remotest corners of the hinterland. In the caravan days of the 18th century, mosques arose in the market towns along the great trading routes to Lakes Nyasa and Tan-

ganyika, to Victoria Nyanza and the Congo border. Today, there is scarcely a village, however small, however remote, in the heart of the bushlands, where is not to be found a mosque.

It is often alleged by the detractors of Islam that, the many converts, Islam wins from the hinterland tribes, are attracted not by the moral tenets of the faith, but by the outward display of its adherents and by the material advantages, they appear to enjoy. This contention is a singularly pointless one. It is not to be supposed that the tribal native, steeped in the ancestral lore and animism of his people, can absorb, at a glance, the moral precepts of Islam, or acquire, in a day, the piety, faith and conviction of a devout Muslim. But he can, and he does, observe with his own eyes the 'outward' and obvious benefits, which Islam bestows upon its followers. He notes the meticulous cleanliness, both in person and clothing, of the Muslim. He notes that the domestic life of the Muslim is superior to his own. He notes that the Muslim has acquired an evident but intangible quality, a dignity and sense of personal pride and well-being—an individuality. In a word, he perceives that the Muslim has acquired good breeding, strength of character, piety, dignity, honesty, generosity, authority, wisdom, the attributes of personal integrity and honour.

However, as against the organized Christian missionary activities, the Muslim effort has been almost negligible. Although the Arabs settled on the east coast of Africa centuries ago and carried Islam to the interior, too little has been done in this respect for many years past, with the result that, the African Muslims are backward generally, and, hence, unable to stand up to trained and wily Christian preachers. African Muslims possess few educational facilities. Another serious menace to Islam in East Africa is the active preaching of the anti-Islamic Ahmadiyyah (Qadiani) doctrines.

A serious political phase of tremendous consequences in modern times has been the penetration of Communism through the influence of Soviet Russia and Peoples' China into Africa.

The Kremlin 'discovered' Africa only in late 1950s; later she gave George Padmore to Ghana as the mentor of Kwame Nkrumah. As a provisional policy, Peking is concentrating on East and Central Africa, whilst Moscow takes the West and North. Thus, China is 'looking after' Tanzania, Somalia, Burundi, Kenya, Zambia, Sudan and Congo (Brazzaville); while Soviet Russia's spheres of influence are in the U.A.R., Algeria, Mali, Guinea and Ghana.

(1)

Ethiopia

(Abyssinia, with Eritrea)

ETHIOPIA was a great power when recorded history began. Homer mentioned the *Aethiopes* (or 'burnt-faced' men) in his poems and described them as the "furthest of mankind". Herodotus, the Greek scholar of the 5th century before Christ, who is generally regarded as the 'Father of History', described Ethiopia in his writings. The Ethiopian queen of Sheba is recorded in the bible as having come to Jerusalem to visit King Solomon. Ethiopian history reports that, after she returned home, she gave birth to Solomon's son, Menelik I, first ruler of the Solomonic line of Ethiopian emperors. Haile Selassie I (the present emperor of Ethiopia) claims to be the 225th monarch of the line. Christianity (Coptic) gained its first followers in Ethiopia during the first century of the Christian era and became the religion of the empire in 330 C.E.

On two occasions, when the Muslims were compelled to leave Mecca by the infidel Quraishites, they found refuge in Ethiopia; and when, at a later date, the Prophet sent a letter to the Negus of Abyssinia, he received a sympathetic and courteous reply. However, relations were not always friendly: Abraha, the governor of Yemen, who, at one time, attempted to besiege Mecca, was a viceroy of the king of Axum in Abyssinia.

The pro-Persian Jewish king, Zu Nuwas (or Mazruq) tried to exterminate the Christians of Yemen. Roman Emperor Justinian I requested the king of Axum, Caleb (or al-Asbaha), for revenge, who crossed over,

defeated Zu Nuwas, conquered Yemen, and installed an Axumite governor, Abraha (c. 525 C.E.). Abraha, however, became an independent monarch of Yemen. But Yemen did not relish Axumite rule and called in the rival power of Iran, which made Yemen an Iranian province in 610 C.E. Yemen remained so until it was taken by the Muslims in 629 C.E.

The only Arab author, who gives exact information about the Muslim provinces of Abdal and the history of Abyssinia of his time, is Maqrizi, in his small treatise (*Al-Ilmam bi-Akhbar man bi-ard al-Habashah min Muluk al-Islam*, written in 1434-35).

The Ethiopian Muslims, who live on the Abyssinian plateau and speak Amharic, Agao or Tigrine, are generally called *Jabarti*, whose Muslim villages are scattered all over the highlands. A certain Sheikh Adam al-Kinani emigrated to Abyssinia from the *Maghrib*, who propagated Islam and whose tomb, at Abi Addi in the Tigrai, is a *Jabarti* shrine.

The *Jabarti* have been oppressed by the highland Christian Gallas, persecuted by the government, and subjected to humiliating laws. Imperial decrees have deprived them of *resti* (hereditary land-right). The Muslims could hold land only as tenants (*Sedbi*), or by right of purchase (*worki*). They have been excluded from positions of authority and rank, and, during the reign of emperor John IV, were treated like slaves. In general, they are, even today, regarded as inferior in status to Abyssinian Christians. The *Jabarti* are mainly artisans and merchants; the Abyssinian Christians, with their pride of birth and contempt for manual work, have left such occupations to them. There are many *Jabarti* cultivators also.

Along the Somali coast were various small Sultanates (Majerten, Holbya, Maqdishu, Brava and Kismayu), which were usurped by Italy and Britain, but are now included in the independent republic of Somalia. The kingdom of Saba possessed commercial establishments along the coast of *Banadir* (ports on Somali coast), especially for the incense trade. Islam was carried to the Somali coast at an early date through Arabian trading relations. Somali coastal towns, such as Zeila and Maqdishu, were developed through the Arab and not Somali commercial enterprises. From these centres, the coastal tribes were first influenced, but the Islamisation of the tribes in the interior was a slow process. However, these pagan tribes of the interior, too, accepted Islam gradually till the 19th century, when France and Britain in 1884, Ethiopia in 1886, and Italy in 1889, distributed the whole of the Somali territory among themselves.

Access by Ethiopia to the sea has been obtained through an unjustified acquirement of Eritrea. The area of Ethiopia (excluding Eritrea-45,000 square miles) is 350,000 square miles, of which Ethiopian Somali-land makes fully a third.

The seat of government, or rather of overlordship, has usually been in Amhara (central) province, the ruler of which called himself *Negusa Nagast* (king of kings, or emperor). The whole history of the country is, in fact, one gloomy record in internecine wars, barbaric deeds and unstable governments, and of raids, rapine and pillage.

King John was at war with the *dervishes*, who had become masters of the Sudan. In 1887, the *dervishes* sacked Gondar, the capital. A great battle ensued at Gallabat, when the *dervishes* were under Zeki Tumul. King John was killed and the Ethiopian army was routed (1889). Now, Menelik proclaimed himself 'king of kings' of Ethiopia.

Between 1899 and 1904, the Abyssinians cooperated with the British in their campaigns against the famous Somali *mujahid* (warrior), whom they spitefully and meanly called "the Mad Mulla", by sending joint expeditions on no less than four occasions. The great Somali warrior, however, was neither mad nor Mulla.

Ras Makonnen, Menelik's successor, died in 1906. Emperor Menelik, himself, died in 1913. In 1908, Menelik had nominated his grandson, Lej Yasu, as his successor. When, after Menelik, Lej Yasu took the reins of government into his hands, he frightened, by his inclination to Islam, the three European powers—Britain, France and Italy—who had colonial possessions around Ethiopia, and annoyed the Christian missionaries, particularly the *Abuna*. Lej Yasu supported the Somali Muslim patriot and reformer, who claimed him as a cousin, and tried to build up a federation of Muslim States. The three European powers intrigued and conspired against him. Therefore, in 1916, Lej Yasu was excommunicated by the *Abuna*—the head of the Abyssinian Coptic Church.

The great *Rases* formally deposed Lej Yasu, and proclaimed Zauditu, a daughter of Menelik, as empress, and Ras Dajazmach Tafari (born 1892), a son of Menelik's nephew, Ras Makonnen, as the regent of the empire. Lej Yasu was defeated with the help of the aforementioned anti-Muslim European powers at Sagalle in 1916, and became a wanderer. Upto 1928, friction between empress Zauditu and Ras Tafari reached such a pitch that the regent assumed the title of king Haile Selassie I. Thus, Haile Selassie I ('the Conquering Lion of the tribe of Judah, Elect of God'), present Emperor of Ethiopia, claims to be a descendant of the

oldest and longest line of royalty in recorded history. As 'emperor', or 'king of kings', he took the name of 'Haile Selassie', meaning 'the Instrument and Power of the Trinity'. The title, 'Emperor', is a Western adaptation of the Amharic *Negusa Nagast*.

The emperor's programmes of reforms were interrupted in October, 1935, by a brother-Christian, Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, when the Italians usurped the independence of his country for the first time in 3,000 years. Haile Selassie I, as a vanquished fugitive, took his cause to the League of Nations; but nothing happened, and he was forced to go into exile in England. In May, 1941, five years after the Italian occupation of Addis Ababa, Haile Selassie re-entered his capital from the Sudan. The present emperor of Ethiopia is a bigoted Christian, and takes keen personal interest in the conversion to Christianity of his non-Christian subjects.

The majority of Eritreans is Muslim; but, there are also over 100,000 Copts. The *ad-hoc* Political Committee of the United Nations voted (by 38 to 14, with 8 abstentions) that, Eritrea should be constituted as an autonomous unit within a federation with Ethiopia. The recommendation of the Committee was finally approved by the General Assembly on December 2, 1950 (by 46 votes to 10, with 4 abstentions). This was an extremely unjust decision of the United Nations, as it was against the interests of the people of Eritrea. It was sheer injustice to place the Eritrean Muslims under Ethiopia's anti-Muslim Christian theocratic monarchy without their consent. Asmara is the capital of Eritrea. The British administration in Eritrea handed over sovereignty of this former Italian colony to Ethiopia in September, 1952.

The total area of Ethiopia is 395,000 square miles (Ethiopia: 350,000 square miles; Eritrea: 45,000 square miles). The estimated (1966) total population is about 19 million; Muslims being over 46 percent. Addis Ababa is the present capital. Both the Egyptian and Ethiopian Coptic Churches are Monophysites, rejecting the decrees of the 'Council of Chalcedon' (451 C.E.). Since 1951, an Ethiopian *Abuna* has been appointed as the Patriarch and Archbishop of the country. The clergy is very numerous, and the Church holds extensive lands and properties.

New light has been thrown upon the history of Islam in Ethiopia by Dr. E. Cerulli's discovery of a short Arabic history of the last days of a Muslim sultanate in eastern Shoa at the end of the 13th century (E. Cerulli, *Il Sultanato dello Shoa nel secolo, XIII*, R.S.E., i, 1941, 5-42).

Eastern Shoa was the seat of a Muslim sultanate under a dynasty called *Makhzumi*, which had been founded in 283 H.E. (896-97 C.E.).¹ In 1277 C.E., the Wali Asma' ('Walashma' of Ethiopic writers), Sultan of one of the neighbouring Muslim states, attacked Shoa and deposed the Makhzumi Sultan in 1285. The earliest account of the new State of the Walashma ('Ifat' of the Ethiopian, and 'Awfat' of the Arab writers) is that of Ibn Sa'id (1214-87 C.E.), preserved by Abu'l Fida (*Geographie d'Aboulfeda*, trans. Guyard, ii, 229; cf. Qalqashandi, *Subh al-A'sha*, Cairo, 1333 H.E., v. 325). Ibn Khaldun provides additional information about the early days of the Walashma, whom he calls 'Wasma' (Ibn Khaldun, *Hist. des Berberes*, trans. de Slane, ii, 107-8; *Kitab al-'Ibar*, Cairo, vi, 199).

Al-Mas'udi (writing in 935 C.E.) and Ibn Hauqal (writing in 977-78 C.E.) tell us that, Dahlak and the towns of the coastal plain were Muslim (*Viae et regna*, ed. de Goeje, 1873, p. 41). The king of Dahlak was an Abyssinian Muslim. Zeila was a great centre for Islamic propaganda, influencing the Afar and Somalis. Farther south, Maqdishu and Kilwa were founded by the waves of the Qarmatians from al-Hasa between 900 and 984 C.E.

At the same time, Islam was spreading inland from the coast throughout the Sidama kingdoms of southern Ethiopia and into the highlands of eastern Shoa, where a sultanate had existed for a long time. The country of Jubbah was converted to Islam and included in the sultanate. Other Muslim states were of Adal, Walashma, Mora, Hobat and Jidaya. Further south, a whole series of Muslim states (Hadya, Fatajar, Awfat, Dawaro, Bali and Mara) grew up along the coast and inland in Afar regions, in Harrar and Arusi territory as far as the lakes, thus ringing the east and south of the Ethiopian massif. Muslim colonies were also established in the Christian part of the highlands.

The Ethiopian State, incited by the anti-Muslim Christian clergy, began to expand southward over Muslim regions, and a protracted struggle broke out between Christians and Muslims. Whilst Christianity was slowly expanding throughout the highlands, Islam had been making more rapid strides from the coastal regions over the southern part of the country, and a line of sultanates extended from the Red Sea to the region of the great lakes, pressing into southern Shoa. The three important sultanates of Hadya, Fatajar and Awfat were bridgeheads of Muslim expansion into Shoa.

1. The *Makhzumi* was the famous Meccan tribe, to which Khalid bin al-Waleed, conqueror of Syria, belonged. The ancestors of the Shoaan dynasty were supposed to have emigrated here during the Caliphate of Hadrat 'Umar bin al-Khattab.

In 1862, the upstart Kassa, who had taken the name of king Theodore III, sent his famous letter to Queen Victoria for assistance against the Muslims, the ignoring of which by Britain led to Napier's campaign (E.A.W. Budge, *History of Ethiopia*, ii, 492). Emperor John IV (1872-89) was a Christian fanatic and madly anti-Muslim. General Gordon wrote of him, "Johannes, oddly enough, is, like myself, a religious fanatic. He has a mission, and will fulfil it, and that mission is to Christianize all Mussulmans" (C.G. Gordon, *Letters to His Sister*, 1902, p. 155). The famous British historian, Toynbee, regards the peculiarities of modern Ethiopia by "the stagnation of her culture at a level which is really not much higher than the level of the adjacent tropical African barbarism" (A.J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, ii, 365). "Had Abyssinia become Muslim, either violently as a result of the conquest of Imam Ahmad Gran in the 16th century, or pacifically through centuries of gradual infiltration, and had a strong Hamitic-Islamic civilization established itself in the highlands, nothing could have stopped the spread of Islam throughout the whole of the Continent, for in North Africa and the Sudan it was the Islamized Hamites, who were the most effective missionaries" (J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London, 1952, Introduction, XIV). Muslims, today, form over 46 percent of the total population of Ethiopia.

The relations between Ethiopia and the Somali republic are very strained owing to the Somali territories being still under Ethiopian yoke.

In July, 1965, an agreement was signed at the Ethiopian foreign ministry making Addis Ababa headquarters of the 'Organisation for African Unity (O.A.U.)', whose volatile and articulate Secretary-General, Diallo Telli Boubakar of Guinea, is a Muslim. Addis Ababa is also the headquarters of yet another international organisation, 'the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa', generally called 'E.C.A.' It was again in Addis Ababa, in 1962, that 'the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA)' expanded its goal to include the liberation of Southern Africa.

An anti-Ethiopian 'Eritrean Liberation Movement', operates from the Sudan. The only hope for the Somalis and other Muslims in Ethiopia is the partitioning of Ethiopia on ethnic and religious lines. Eritrea should be liberated from the tyrannical Ethiopian rule.

(2)

East Africa

1. KENYA

KENYA is a country of East Africa. Part of the coast-lands, from the Tanganyika frontier to Kipini, to a depth of ten miles inland, together with Mombasa, Lamu and other small islands, were held on lease from the Sultan of Zanzibar (to whom £16,000 had been paid annually, till the kingdom was replaced by the present republic and its merger with Tanganyika). The main tribal strength in Kenya is as under : Kikuyu 19.5% ; Luo 14.4% ; Baluhya 12.5% ; Kamba 11.7 % ; and Menu 6.2%.

On the coast are to be found the Swahili, a Bantu people mixed with the Arab and other blood, whose language, 'Ki-Swahili', is largely in use throughout the country. The Arab inhabitants, practically confined to the coast, are of ancient settlement in East Africa. Nairobi is the capital, and Mombasa—the port of Kenya. The settlement of freed slaves, named Freretown', is called 'Kisaoni' by the natives and is the headquarters in East Africa of the Church Missionary Society. Lamu is an ancient settlement and the headquarters of the coastal Arabs. Here, a large Arab city is buried beneath the sands. At Malindi, the 'Melind' of the *Paradise Lost*, is the pillar erected by Vasco da Gama, when he visited the port in 1498.

Before the partition of Africa among European powers, a great part of the coast of East Africa belonged to the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar. In the last quarter of the 19th century, British influence was strong at the court of the Sultans. Much of the chief ports, Zanzibar, Mombasa and Bagamayo, was in the hands of the British and Asian merchants. In 1877, the then ruler, Sultan Bargash, offered to Sir William Mackinnon

(1823-93), the chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company (B.I.S.N.), a lease for 70 years of all his mainland territories.

The British government took Zanzibar under its 'protection' in November, 1890, declaring the dominions of the Sultan within the conventional 'Congo Basin Free Trade Zone'. The British government purchased the rights of the B.I.S.N. Company in East Africa for £250,000.

The total area of Kenya is 224, 960 square miles; its estimated population (1966) was over 9 million, including some 300,000 Asians, and 80,000 Arabs. The Muslim population is over 25 per cent. The prevailing religious beliefs are pagan, but, on the coast, Islam has made great progress. There are Muslim Arabs, Pakistani and Indian Muslims, and there are also Hindus and Sikhs. There are many Christian missionary societies at work.

The present national leader of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta—the president of the ruling government party, K. A. N. U.—is the head of State. He worked as a kitchen boy, a carpenter, and an inspector of the Nairobi water-works. He lived for many years in London, where he married also, and where he adopted the name 'Kenyatta' from Kenya. He was sentenced to seven years in Jail, in 1953, on the charge of having managed the 'Mau Mau' movement against the British government in Kenya. His grip over his people has been magical.

2. UGANDA

UGANDA is an independent country in eastern Equatorial Africa. The name 'Uganda' was first applied to the kingdom on the north-western shores of Lake Victoria, discovered by J.H. Speke in 1862, and included the large Bantu kingdom of Buganda. The Ripon Falls, in the Victoria Nyanza Lake, mark the exit of the fully born river Nile from the great lake. Kampala town (or Mengo) is the capital of the country.

The Arabs, trading in ivory, carried the information of the great lakes and a settled kingdom in Uganda to Zanzibar. It was from the Arabs that the German missionary, Krapf, and his colleague, Rebmann, learned about Uganda. Speke and Burton also heard of the existence of the Victoria Lake (the biggest sweet water lake in the world) and Uganda from the same sources. The famous Muslim Customs Master at Zanzibar, Khoja Bamji, equipped Speke with men and material necessary for the expedition to the great lake. Two Muslim companions.—Jumma and Jaffu—led Speke and Grant to Unyamwezi (or 'the Mountain of the Moon') in the west of Uganda, in 1862. Stanley again came to Uganda in 1875, and wrote from there his historical letter to *The Daily Telegraph*, London, in which he invited the white races and the Christian missions to the country.

In 1875, the Zanzibar Arabs reached the state of Buganda in Uganda as traders. They converted *Kabaka* (King) Mutesa, his chiefs, and many of his subjects to Islam. Thereupon, the Christian missionaries entered Uganda and started a regular campaign against Islam.

In 1882, however, Islam gained an ascendancy in Uganda. In 1884, king Mutesa died. He was succeeded by his son, Mwanga, who resolved

to stamp out Christianity from his country. In 1898, king Mwanga declared himself a Muslim. But, the British intervened and captured Kabaka Mwanga in 1899, who was removed to Seychelles, where he died in 1903. By the treaty of Mengo (1900), Daudi Chwa, a son of Mwanga, was accorded by the British the title of 'His Highness the *Kabaka*'. About this period, most of Buganda was forcibly converted to Christianity by the missionaries, aided by the British administration. Islam was brought to Uganda both from the east coast and from the north (Sudan).

Former British East Africa was predominantly Muslim, converted from paganism to Islam by the Arab traders, before the advent of the Christian missionaries and the establishment of the European powers. Christianity has brought in its wake serious moral deterioration in East Africa.

The total area of Uganda is 93,981 square miles; its population is estimated (1966) to be over 8 million, including over 150,000 Asians. The Muslims are over 30 per cent; the rest are Christians and pagans. The christian missionaries are most unscrupulous in the matter of their methods of evangelisation; the most effective weapon in their hands, in this respect, is their control of African education.

Uganda is notorious for being infested with the deadly *tse-tse* fly, which causes 'Trypanosomiasis' (i.e., sleeping-sickness). The fly lives on blood. A new antitoxin—antrycyde—has been valuable to an extent in checking the disease. More than four million square miles of Africa are 'under the fly', which is swift but has a comparatively short range of flight. The *tse-tse* belt stretches all the way across Africa from the Sudan to South Africa, brushing both coasts. The trypanosome parasite lodges in the salivary glands, and then spreads to the brain and spinal cord.

Uganda achieved complete independence on October 9, 1962, under the government of Premier Dr. Milton Obote, and had the distinction of being the 33rd state in the growing number of free African nations, becoming the 110th member of the United Nations the same year. Sir Frederick Mutesa (*Kabaka* of Buganda) became Uganda's first President in 1963. He has been a bitter opponent of Premier Obote. After an abortive *coup d'état* in February, 1966, against the government, Premier Obote dismissed his cabinet, took over all the powers of the government of Uganda, suspended the constitution and abolished the position of the president, wherefor the *Kabaka* had to flee the country to take refuge in England, leaving Dr. Obote as the dictator in Uganda.

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3. TANZANIA

(Tanganyika and Zanzibar)

TANZANIA is a recent federation of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanganyika is a country of east central Africa. It includes the Mafia island. From 1884 to 1919, Tanganyika, together with the countries of Ruanda and Burundi, formed the 'German East Africa'. The highest mountain in Africa, the extinct volcano, Kilimanjaro (19,321 feet), is in this country.

There are, in all, some 75 distinct negro tribes in the country, belonging to the primitive Bantu race. The Swahilis inhabit the seaboard. Arabs, with Pakistani and Indian Muslims and Indian Hindus, some Iranians and German settlers, have for long been in the country. Most of the Swahili people are Muslim, while Christianity is fast spreading. The majority of the natives, however, is still pagan. German East Africa was conquered in the first world war, and, subsequently, divided between the British and Belgians. The latter received the countries of Ruanda and Burundi. Tanganyika had been administered under the United Nations trusteeship, the former League of Nations' mandate having been terminated and replaced in 1946.

The total area of Tanganyika is 362,688 square miles. Dares Salaam is the capital and chief port. In 1966, the estimated population was over 11 million—Pakistanis and Indians, about 150,000; and Arabs, over 35,000. Swahili, the language of Zanzibar and East African coast generally, is used throughout Tanganyika. The Muslim population is over 33 per cent.

The Arab Sultan of Zanzibar, before the British, held sway over the whole of the East African coast. By 1873, the British influence was para-

mount in this area. From the beginning of the 19th century, European powers began to quarrel among themselves for the occupation of Africa. At last, Germany and Britain came to an agreement, by which Tanganyika became the German East Africa and Zanzibar was made a British protectorate. In 1916, however, Tanganyika, passed over into the hands of the British. Amiji Musaji, a Bohra Muslim merchant, was the first person from the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent to have arrived in Daresalaam in 1860.

By common consent, Julius Kambarage Nyerere—one-time school-teacher, and the leader of Tanganyika's strongest political party—T. A. N. U. — is one of the ablest of the rising new crop of African leaders. He is a devoted Roman Catholic.

Tanganyika became a republic within the British Commonwealth on December 9, 1961. On December 15, it became the 104th. member of the United Nations. On January 22, 1962, young and tough Muslim Rashidi Mfaume Kawawa, with leftist leanings, became Prime Minister. In December, Nyerere was elected the first President of Tanganyika under the new constitution, which is said to be somewhat like that of Ghana.

Zanzibar and Pemba Islands

Zanzibar has, till recently, been a Muslim Sultanate and British protectorate in East Africa. The Sultanate, formerly of much larger extent, was reduced to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, some adjacent islets (like Tumbatu and Mafia), and the nominal sovereignty of a strip of coastland—10 miles deep—in Kenya. Both the islands have a collective area of 1,020 square miles. The natives of these islands are a Bantu-speaking race of low development. They are known as 'Wahadimu'. The population, however, is of an extremely heterogeneous character. The Arabs and Asiatics number equally.

Various small Arab states grew up along the coast, Mombasa being the most important. These states are sometimes spoken of as the 'Zanj Empire' though they were never, probably, united under one ruler. Kilwa was regarded as the capital of the 'Empire'. The seaboard itself took the name of 'Zanquebar' (corrupted to 'Zanzibar' by the Asian traders), the *Bilad al-Zanj* (or 'Land of the Zanj') of the Arabs.

On the death of Sultan Sa'id in 1856, Bargash ibn Sa'id became 'the Sultan of Zanzibar'. At that time, besides the islands, the Sultan's

dominions extended along the East African coast from Cape Delgado northwards to and including some of the Somali ports, with an undefined extension inland. Bargash, however, lived to witness the dismemberment of his dominions by Britain, Germany and Italy, and, in 1888, left to his successor, Sayyid Khalifah, a mere fragment of the territories over which he had once ruled. The mainland territories were divided, Italy acquiring the northern part, Britain the central part (later the Kenya protectorate), and Germany the southern part (later Tanganyika territory) as well as the Mafia island. Sultan Bargash acted largely under the influence of Sir John Kirk, who, from 1866 to 1887, was the consular representative of Britain at Zanzibar. In November, 1890, what was left of the Sultanate was proclaimed a British protectorate, in conformity with the conventions by which Britain on her part ceded Heligoland to Germany and renounced all claims to Madagascar in favour of France. On the death of the then Sultan, Sayyid Hamid ibn Thwain, in 1896, Hamid bin Muhammad was installed the Sultan by Britain.

Of post-Islamic settlements, Pate was founded in 689 C.E. Swahilis, in general, look to this northern area as the country of their origin. The 'Moors' of the settlement of Kilwa (975 C.E.) spoke Arabic. All Swahilis are Shafi' Sunnis, but the Arabs are mostly Ibadis (Kharijis).

Zanzibar is the largest coralline island on the African coast, being 50 miles long by 24 broad, with an area of 640 square miles. To the north-east, at a distance of about 25 miles, lies the island of Pemba, 42 miles long by 14 broad, with an area of 380 square miles. Their combined area is 1,020 square miles.

The mainland possessions of the Sultan of Zanzibar extended over the coast from Warsheikh to Tunghi Bay, and were later ceded to Italy, Britain and Germany. Sayyid Khalifah bin Harub had succeeded on the abdication of his brother-in-law, 'Ali bin Hamoud bin Muhammad, in 1911. The last Sultan of Zanzibar; Sayyid 'Abdullah bin Khalifah, acceded to the Sultanate in 1960. The population of Zanzibar and Pemba (1966 estimate) is over 450,000 including 80,000 Arabs, and over 60,000 Pakistanis and Indians.

In January, 1964, a pro-Communist upstart from Uganda, self-styled 'Field Marshal' John Okello effected a successful *coup d'etat* in Zanzibar, deposed Sultan 'Abdullah, and declared Zanzibar a republic under the nominal presidency of Karume. The deposed Sultan has taken refuge in England. Thereafter, a merger was effected between Tanganyika and Zanzibar under the name of the Republic of Tanzania and the presidency of Julius Nyerere, with his one-party government of T.A.N.U.

4. FRENCH SOMALILAND

FRENCH Somaliland lies at the entrance to the Red Sea. The inhabitants are, on the north side of the Gulf of Tajura, chiefly Danakils (Afars); on the southern shore, Galla and Somali. There are a number of Arabs, Abyssinians and Pakistanis. The chief town is Jibuti, which is the main artery of trade with Ethiopia.

The French colony of the Somali coast is situated in the Gulf of Aden between former British Somaliland, Ethiopia and Eritrea. In 1888, a port was created at Jibuti—the seat of government since 1892. The territory has an area of 9,071 square miles, and the estimated (1966) population is over 150,000—all Muslims. French Somaliland is strategically important as one of the natural outlets for Ethiopia on the Red Sea. Settlements are all on the Gulf of Tajura. Jibuti is one of the hottest points on the globe. The people are mostly nomadic shepherds—Danakils and Somali Issa.

Jibuti is linked with Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia, by a railroad 490 miles long, of which 60 miles are in French Somaliland. The solution of the problems of this French possession lies in its merger with the Somali Republic because of the common economic, ethnic, linguistic, racial and religious affinity of their peoples. France is to hold a referendum in July, 1967, to find out the wishes of the people of the country as regards its future political status.

5. MALAWI

(Former Nyasaland)

THE extension of European influence to Malawi was largely the result of the Christian missionary efforts, which clearly proved the fact that the real motive behind the evangelisation of the Africans was not religious but political. Nationalist Africa has been aroused politically now, but Muslim Africa is still sleeping. For this lamentable state of affairs, the Muslim rulers and people of Africa are responsible.

Malawi covers an area of 49,177 square miles. The estimated (1966) population is over 3½ million, including some 25,000 Asiatics. The Muslims are over 30 percent.

Lake Nyasa is the third in size of the great lakes of Central Africa. The lake is 350 miles long and 45 miles broad. Its total area may be estimated at 11,000 sq. miles.

The important tribes of Malawi are the Yaos, Angoni and Anguru. Agriculture and pastoralism are the chief occupations. The capital of Malawi is Zomba. A good deal of responsibility is given to native chiefs and headmen. Various Christian missions have been working feverishly at their centres—Likoma, Blantyre and Limbe—to convert the people to Christianity.

The modern story of Nyasaland begins with the coming of David Livingstone (d. 1873), who, in his Zambezi expedition, penetrated up the Shire affluent of that river, and discovered Lake Nyasa. That was in 1859. Livingstone's discovery of Lake Nyasa was soon followed by the entry of various Christian missionary societies, out of which grew a trading company—the African Lakes Trading Corporation.

About 1885, a struggle began between the Arabs (who had established themselves at the northern end of Lake Nyasa) and the British for the possession of the country, which was not ended until 1896. At this time, 'the scramble for Africa' among European powers was acute and, in 1889, 'the British South Africa Company' obtained a charter and sent emissaries to Central Africa.

Between 1891 and 1895, a long struggle continued among the British on the one hand, and the Arabs and Muslim Yaos on the other. By the beginning of 1896, the last Arab stronghold was taken and the Yaos were reduced to submission. Among the natives were a number of professed Christians, who claimed freedom from white control. One of these men, John Chelembwe, who had been educated in the U.S.A., on his return, built a church and preached the independence of Africans. With some 500 followers, he rose in revolt in 1915. Several white settlers were murdered, and Chelembwe preached a sermon in his church with the head of Livingstone (a descendant of David Livingstone) placed on pulpit. The revolt was, however, suppressed, and Chelembwe was shot dead. This rising was a symptom of 'Ethiopianism'.

In July, 1958, after forty years of self-imposed exile, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda—the saviour, liberator and messiah' of Nyasaland—returned home from London. He is a member of the Chewa tribe, and has been a Christian mission-schoolboy. By far the largest political party in the country was the 'Malawi Congress Party', whose leader was Dr. Hastings Banda.

Nyasaland became completely independent on July 6, 1964, under the Premiership of Dr. Banda, and adopted the name of the country as Malawi.

In November, 1965, American missionaries, Bruce and Sandra Boston, were expelled from the country for interfering in Malawi's internal affairs.

On May 20, 1966, Dr. Banda was unanimously elected the first President of Malawi. On July 6, Malawi became a Republic within the British Commonwealth. Dr. Banda has dictatorial powers as the President with no vice-president or prime minister and his republican regime is totalitarian.

6. MOZAMBIQUE

(Portuguese East Africa)

PORTUGUESE East Africa is sparsely inhabited; 90 percent of the inhabitants belong to various Bantu tribes. The most important towns are Lourenco Marques (capital) and Mozambique. The ancient town of Sofala has now little but historical interest. Porto Amelia stands on Pemba bay; it is one of the finest harbours in the world.

By the 10th century C.E., the Arabs had occupied the seaboard of East Africa as far south as Sofala, and, until the close of the 15th century, their supremacy was unchallenged. But, in 1498, Vasco da Gama entered the mouth of a river, which he called *Rio dos Bons Sinaes* (‘River of Good Tokens’), as he found himself there in contact with the civilization of the East. This stream was the Quelimane river. From this river, da Gama continued his voyage, putting in at Mozambique and Mombasa on his way to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

Hostilities between the Arabs and the Portuguese broke out almost immediately. By 1510, the Portuguese, who had seized and fortified the port of Mozambique in 1507, were masters of all the former Arab sultanates on the East African coast. The story of the tyrannies, inhuman atrocities, barbarism and devastations, wrought by the cruel Portuguese on the East African coast, is a very painful reading, though the Western writers always minimize or ignore them.

For forty years, Sofala was their only station south of the Zembezi. From there, they traded with the chief of the ‘Mocaranga’, in whose territory were the mines from where the gold exported from Sofala was obtained. This potentate was known as the ‘Monomotapa’. The first Jesuit

missionaries began work in the country in 1560. Mission work was soon afterward begun by the Dominicans, and, for nearly two centuries, the two Orders between them had agents spread over the greater part of the country from Mozambique southward.

The Portuguese merchants of Sofala and Mozambique had, from the middle of the 17th century, found a new source of wealth in the export of slaves to Brazil. This trade continued until nearly the middle of the 19th century.

Mozambique has an area of 302,300 sq. miles. The estimated (1966) population is about 7 million, including over 25 per cent Muslims.

In 1961, some ‘out of grace’ leaders of Mozambique joined forces in Mombasa and supported by the two big political parties of Kenya and Tanzania—the K.A.N.U. and the T.A.N.U.—respectively, formed a similar organisation for the liberation of Mozambique. They chose Dares-Salaam as their headquarters for the time being.

The first translation of the Holy Quran in the Portuguese language was produced in 1965 by Constantino de Castro Lopo of Lourenco Marques, which he calls ‘Al-Corao’—the Portuguese for ‘Al-Quran.’

The General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1966, called for a world-wide arms and trade boycott against Portugal to force her to grant independence to her African territories, and called on all States to sever diplomatic relations with Lisbon.

Innumerable people in Mozambique have been killed under the repressive measures of the Portuguese colonial authorities, and thousands of them have been forced to flee to neighbouring African countries as refugees. The people have risen in revolt under the guidance of the ‘Mozambique African National Union’ (M.A.N.U.), with Bwana Saif al-Aziz Milas as its president. Two mutually rival African organizations—M.P.L.A. and G.R.A.E.—are based in Congo (Liopoldville) for the liberation of Angola—another African territory under the oppressive Portuguese colonialism.

7. MALAGASY REPUBLIC

(Former Madagascar Island)

WITH its area of 228,500 sq. miles, Madagascar is the third largest island in the world after Borneo (284,630 sq. miles) and New Guinea (234,770 sq. miles). The island was called *al-Qamar* by the Arabs, and *Bukini* by the Bantus of the neighbouring East African coast and by certain Malagasy tribes. The Portuguese called it 'the Island of St. Laurence', as they discovered it on that saint's day, August 10, 1506, and finally, it became known as 'Madagascar' from Marco Polo's name for it. The orthography unvocalised gave rise to the false etymology *Jazirat al-Qamar* (Island of the Moon), which survived down to the end of the 19th century among the sailors of southern Arabia. The name, *Al-Qamar*, appears for the first time in the *Kitab Surat al-Ard* of Muhammad bin Musa al-Khwarizmi (d. c. 835 C.E.). The name of Madagascar was given by Marco Polo in the form of 'Madeigascar' (*The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. Sir Henry Yule and Cordier, ii, p. 411).

The philosophy of life of the Malagasy people is contained in their proverb: *mami ni aina* (life is sweet); they think it good to be alive. The conversion of the Malagasy people to Christianity has not been a great success, because they are not serious about religion. At the time of the French conquest of the island in 1895, they were cajoled, enticed and compelled to be converted *en masse* to Roman Catholicism. There was first an important immigration of African Bantus, followed by another equally important immigration of the Indonesians from Sumatra in the 2nd/4th centuries C.E. The arrival of the Arabs in the 6th/9th centuries C.E., and the conversion of the Malagasy people to Islam was by the Sunni Arabs from the Persian Gulf area. Subsequently came the Iranian *Ithna 'Ashris*.

The Lutheran missionaries were the pioneers in converting the inhabitants of Madagascar to Christianity. The island is separated from the mainland by 250 miles across the Straits of Madagascar. The people are predominantly of Malay-Polynesian stock, intermingled with African blood.

On the eastern and north-eastern coast, Arab influence prevailed through many centuries, and there has been considerable intermingling of racial strains. Idolatrous Hindus from India, Muslims from Pakistan, and also Chinese have added to the polyglot population of coastal cities. The following has been the usual pattern in Africa. At first, the Christian missionaries infiltrated a country, offering the unwary and simple Africans the 'spiritual salvation' through the 'trinity' and the 'superior' Western civilisation and culture, and then the brute force of Christian West enslaved them politically.

The indigenous Malagasy religious faith centered in primitive forms of animism and ancestor-worship. Early in the 19th century, Christianity expanded rapidly, eliminating Islamic influence, the central part of the island being predominantly Christian today. A rebellion broke out in 1947, but it was brutally suppressed by the armed might of France, and about 100,000 Malagasy tribesmen were butchered by the French.

Madagascar has actually been in the hands of the Christian missionaries, and the Malagasy people were given little training in democracy.

The estimated (1966) population is 6½ million (including 50,000 Asians), with over 23 percent Muslims. There are numerous tribes and races in Malagasy. The most important tribe is the Hova (Merina), whose language, 'Malagasy', allied to the Malayan and Oceanic tongues, is widely understood in the island. The chief towns are Tananarive (capital), Tamatave, Majunga, Diego-Suarez and Tuléar. As against over 10,000 churches, there are some 75 mosques in the country. There are still many heathens in the island.

The Malagasy republic accepted an elected status as a member State of the French Community in 1958, and adopted its constitution in 1959. The President of the republic exercises executive powers and is elected for a 7-year term. The present President, Philibert Tsiranana, was elected in May 1959, and is the leader of the 'Social Democratic Party' (P.S.D.).

8. MAURITIUS

MAURITIUS was known to Arab navigators earlier than the 10th century C. E. The Dutch were the first settlers (1598), who named the island 'Mauritius', after their own Prince Maurice of Nassau. It was formally ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Paris of 1814. Because of the greater number of Indian Hindus in it, the latter now predominate in its legislative council.

Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean, 550 miles east of the Madagascar island, has an area of about 720 sq. miles. The estimated (1966) population of the island is 750,000. The Indians are mostly idolatrous Hindus, while the Pakistanis are Muslims; the total number of Muslims is over 20 per cent.

Diego Garcia (the most important of the Oil Islands group), near Mauritius, has only 1,000 inhabitants. In 1965, this island was proposed by the governments of Britain and the U.S.A. to be made a joint Anglo-American military base for their South-East Asian joint command, which is vehemently opposed by the Afro-Asian countries, particularly Mauritius and its neighbours.

Mauritius is one of the most densely populated areas in the world. Its whole economy is based on sugar. The present Indian population of Mauritius comes of the low caste Hindu labourers, who were imported to work in the sugar fields. During the later half of 1966, pre-independence general elections were held. Mauritius is to obtain independence during 1967. Its capital is Port Louis. The premier of Mauritius is Sir Seewosagur Ramgoolam.

(3)

Central Africa

1. ZAMBIA

(Former Northern Rhodesia)

THE region north of the Zambezi is Zambia, and south of the Zambezi lies Southern Rhodesia, which includes the areas of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. The regions of south Central Africa, known as Rhodesias (North and South), include what was probably the greatest gold-field of the ancient world. The remains of the mines, sunk to a vertical depth of about 150 feet in gold-bearing rock, are found in an area 500 miles long by 400 broad; and it is estimated by mining engineers that, gold of a value equivalent to at least £100 million must have been won from these prehistoric workings. Even so, enough was left to make this very ancient gold-field one of the chief resources of Southern Rhodesia.

It is surmised that the gold area was mined by the Sabaeo-Phoenicians of Yemen with Asian labour, and that, while the Ophir (i.e., any conspicuous source of natural products or merchandise) of King Solomon was the south-west corner of Arabia, most of the gold of the Ophir, and of the Graeco-Roman world, came from south-east Africa.

The gold area of south Central Africa emerged in the Bantu kingdom of Monomotapa, with the capture of the east coast ports from the Arabs by the Portuguese in 1500-20 C. E. The Portuguese missionaries penetrated to the great chief's court and converted him to Christianity. As the result of the relations thus established, the Monomotapa of the day 'granted', by treaty in 1629, the gold mines to the king of Portugal.

The conception of Rhodesia came to Cecil Rhodes at Oxford in 1878. In 1888, Rhodes started to give effect in Africa to his ideas. The British resident at Bulawayo made, in the same year, a treaty, by which

Lobengula (chief of Matabeleland) 'made' himself a vassal of the British. This concession was, afterwards, transferred to an association, which Rhodes had formed, called 'the British South Africa Company'. The Company received its charter in 1889. In 1891, a Boer trek wanted to occupy the Mashonaland, but was defeated by the British. The name, 'Rhodesia', was given to the Company's territories by the official proclamation of May 3, 1895.

Like Kenya, Southern Rhodesia soon became a British settlement, which obtained complete self-government. After the South African War of 1899-1902, Rhodesia made great industrial progress. In 1923, the Company handed over her charge of the country to the government of the 'Colony of Rhodesia', and Southern Rhodesia was annexed to the British Crown. In 1924, the Company's territory north of the Zambezi, about twice as large as Southern Rhodesia, was taken over by the British government as 'Northern Rhodesia'. Bemba language is widely spoken in the north of Zambia, and has become the *lingua franca* on the 'Copperbelt'. Nyanja is also widely used. The majority of Africans still adheres to their traditional animistic beliefs, but there is intense Christian missionary activity in Zambia, while the Muslim missionary activity is almost nil.

The area of Zambia is 288,130 sq. miles. The natives belong to over fifty different tribes. The estimated (1966) population is about 4 million, including over 25,000 Asians. The capital is Lusaka, having been moved from Livingstone (the old capital) in 1935. There are 15 per cent Muslims in Zambia.

In July, 1961, Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the 'United National Independence Party'—U.N.I.P.—launched a campaign against the new Northern Rhodesia constitution, which sought to perpetuate the white supremacy in their country. The small white minority in the so-called 'Federation of Rhodesias and Nyasaland' was determined to crush the national aspirations of the African people in their own homeland. In December, 1962, Zambia announced the formation of the first African-dominated government, under Premier Kenneth Kaunda.

In 1963, Zambia seceded from the 'Rhodesian Federation'. In 1964, Zambia attained complete independence under President Kenneth Kaunda. In December, 1965, in the wake of the unilateral announcement of independence by the rebel white minority government in Southern Rhodesia, Zambia urgently appealed to Britain for swift military action to annul the illegal Southern Rhodesian independence and to secure the integrity of Zambia. The British hesitation and reluctance to do so has aroused keen African resentment.

2. SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

SOUTHERN Rhodesia is separated from Zambia by the Zambezi river. It consists of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and covers an area of 150,330 square miles. Southern Rhodesia forms part of the great South African plateau. The natives of Southern Rhodesia include Amandabele, Amatshangana, Basuto, and numerous tribes, who are often grouped together as 'Mashona'. Gold is still the chief mineral produced in the country. The metal occurs in the ancient schists and in lodes within the margins of the granite.

The estimated (1966) population is over 4,000,000, including 30,000 Asians, and 225,000 whites. The Africans are being fast evangelised by numerous Christian missions working actively. The chief towns are Salisbury (capital) and Bulawayo. The Muslims are about 15 per cent. In Southern Rhodesia, there is just as much racial segregation as there is in South Africa. The General Assembly of the United Nations, ignoring Britain's warning, had ordered, on February 23, 1962, a U.N. investigation into this racial discrimination in the country. In 1963, the white minority government of Southern Rhodesia had the audacity to ask the British government officially for independence.

In 1965, the rebel white minority government of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia announced its unilateral illegal proclamation of independence in defiance of Britain. The British government, too, defied demands of 36 African nations to crush Rhodesia's rebellion by mid-December, 1965, whereupon a number of African nations severed their relations with Britain forthwith. The crisis continues (December, 1966).

3. THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

(Leopoldville)

THE Democratic Republic of Congo is an independent State of Equatorial Africa, which occupies most of the basin of the great Congo river. In 1908, the State was annexed to Belgium. Interest in Central Africa had greatly been stimulated in the middle of the 19th century by the discoveries of David Livingstone, J.H. Speke, Richard Burton, H.M. Stanley and others. In 1876, King Leopold of the Belgians summoned in Brussels a conference of geographical experts, which resulted in the creation of 'the International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Africa', with its headquarters in Brussels. Though 'international' in name, the Association soon came entirely under the direction of King Leopold and his associates.

The Anglo-Portuguese convention of February, 1884, led directly to the summoning of the 'Berlin Conference', and to the recognition of the 'International Association' as a sovereign State.

The Arab merchants, mostly of Zanzibar origin, had established themselves in the country between Lake Tanganyika and Stanley Falls. In 1892 began the Arab war with the Belgians. In the campaign, lasting several months, the Arab strongholds of Nyangwe and Kasongo were captured and the Arab power was broken.

Congo, formerly known as 'Zaire', is the largest river in Africa, and is exceeded in size, among the rivers of the world, by the Amazon only. River Congo has a length of fully 3,000 miles, and a drainage area estimated at 1,425,000 sq. miles, with a diameter of some 1,400 miles either way. The Congo falls in the Atlantic Ocean. In all, there are

over 5,000 miles of navigable water in the Congo basin. On the Congo alone are over 4,000 islands. The volume of water, poured into the Atlantic, is calculated at 1,200,000 cubic feet or more per second.

The former Belgian Congo occupied the major part of the basin of the Congo and a small part of the basin of the Upper Nile. The country has a coastline of 25 miles only, extending north from the mouth of the Congo river.

The capital of the Congo is Leopoldville. Stanleyville is the chief town of the Eastern province; Coquilhatville of the Equatorial province; and Elizabethville of the province of Katanga. In 1919, by agreement with Britain, the mandate over Ruanda and Burundi was assigned to Belgium. The area of the Republic of the Congo is about 905,500 square miles. The population is composed of three main ethnical groups: (1) Negroes; (2) Pygmies; and (3) Hamites. The estimated (1966) population is over 15 million, including over 10 percent Muslims. There are four native languages: Kiswahili (in the east), Kiluba (in the south), Lingala (along the Congo river), and Kikongo (in the lower Congo). The native religion of the Congolese consists of a gross fetishism, while the Christian mission work is actively carried on, so much so that about half of the population of the Congo has already been converted to Christianity.

Immediately after the independence of the Congo on June 30, 1960, the *Force Publique* (the Congolese army) revolted, and there was chaos in the country. After the murder of the former pro-Communist premier, Patrice Lumumba, in 1961, the white missionaries, who had fled the country, returned.

The Muslims in the Congo may roughly be divided as follows: (1) The Arabs and Arabised Congolese; (2) Asians; and (3) the indigenous Muslims (or Islamised Negroes), called *Wa-Arabu*, who include the Senegalese, and are itinerant merchants. The Muslims are concentrated in eastern Congo, in Maniema, in the Kasongo territory, on the right bank of the river Lualaba.

In September, 1961, the U.N. Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld, arrived on a peace mission to the Congo, but gave his life in a plane accident.

Rajeshwar Dayal, the Hindu special representative of the U.N. Secretary General in Congo from India, became *persona non grata* in the

country, owing to his anti-Congolese activities, so much so that the Congo President, Kasavubu, asked the U.N. to recall him, and the intriguer Dayal had to leave the Congo ignominiously.

In 1963, President Moise Tshombe of Katanga province, who was helped by the Belgians, yielded to the U.N. demand, and ended Katanga's secession from the country. The men, who ruled over Katanga, were not Tshombe and his associates, but the powerful directors of the Belgian company, *Union Miniere du Haute Katanga*. Influential Britons, like Captain Charles Waterhouse (the leader of the 'Suez Group' in the British Parliament in 1956), Lord Selbourne and Sir Ulrick Alexander, had considerable shares and direct interest in the *Union Miniere*, which symbolised the worst form of economic exploitation, and was 'a State within a State'. It was this mining company in Katanga, which had supplied the necessary pitchblende and uranium to the U.S.A. to manufacture her first atom bomb.

Moise Tshombe had become the Premier of Congo in 1964. On November 25, 1965, Gen. Joseph Mobutu ousted President Joseph Kasavubu and Premier Tshombe, and declared himself President of the Congo for the next five years. Mobutu's troops put down an army mutiny in favour of ex-Premier Tshombe in January, 1966. On October 26, 1965, the Congolese President, Joseph, Mobutu, sacked his Premier, Leonard Mulamba, and himself took over the Premiership in a move to put the Congo "on the path of a pure Presidential system".

Moise Tshombe is continuing to stir trouble in the Congo by inviting white Rhodesian, Belgian and Portuguese mercenaries to Katanga.

4. THE REPUBLICS OF RUANDA AND BURUNDI

RUANDA and Burundi, which had been administered by Belgium since World War I as the League of Nations' mandates, and then as the United Nations' trust territories, became independent on July 1, 1962. Ruanda-Burundi, with a combined estimated (1966) population of over 5½ million (with about 20 percent Muslims), in a total area of about 21,000 square miles, have the highest population density in Africa. Both the countries were formerly in German East Africa. The trusteeship agreement was approved by the United Nations in December, 1946, and became law in April, 1949. Usumbura was the capital of the former Belgian trusteeship administration for both of them.

Although broadly similar, the social system of the two countries is not identical. In Ruanda, the Tutsi people constitute 17 percent of the population, while in Burundi they are about 13 percent. In Ruanda, the Hutu people represent about 82 percent of the population, while in Burundi they are about 86 per cent.

Until the end of 1959, laws enacted by the Belgian parliament for the-then Belgian Congo were also applicable in these trust territories. Both in Ruanda and Burundi, there was a kingdom of 'divine origin' with, at the head, the *Mwami* (king) and his drum, the insignia and source of his power. The religious beliefs of the inhabitants of Ruanda and Burundi are largely the same. *Imama* is god, the creator, as imperceptible as the spirits of the ancients. There is no fetishism in the region. In 1898, Lavigerie's 'White Fathers' founded their first missions in the region.

In 1907, Protestant missionaries began to arrive, who were helped by the Germans to Christianise the populace. The mandate over Ruanda-Burundi was entrusted to Belgium in 1919 by the Supreme Council of the

Allied Powers. The native king (*Mwami*) was deprived of the right over life and death of his people. The forcible conversion of the population to Christianity, mostly by the Catholics, resulted in about 50 percent of the inhabitants becoming Christian, though they do not understand what Christianity is. No pains were spared, as in Congo, to destroy Islam in the area.

At Usumbura, there exists an Islamic *madressah*, which is attended by the Muslim students even from Congo and Tanzania.

On June 27, 1962, the U.N. General Assembly formally approved independence for Ruanda-Burundi. On July 1, 1962, therefore, both Ruanda and Burundi became free nations. Ruanda (area: 10,250 sq. miles; 1966 estimated population being about 3 million) became a republic, with its capital at Kigali. Burundi (area: 10,750 sq. miles; 1966 estimated population being about 2½ million) became a kingdom, with its capital at Usumbura. On September 18, 1962, the U.N. General Assembly admitted both the independent countries to the U.N. membership. In July, 1966, Prince Charles Ndizeye, the son of Mwami Mwambusta IV, king of Burundi, deposed his regal father (who was in Europe) and became himself the Head of State.

The President of the Republic of Ruanda is Gregoire Kayibanda, who is a Hutu. The country is in danger of a tribal war between the rival Hutu and Tutsi peoples.

Early in December, 1966, Army Captain Michel Micombero, Premier of Burundi, seized power and proclaimed the abolition of monarchy and the establishment of the Republic of Burundi, with a presidential and one-party (U.P.R.O.N.A.) regime.

(4)

GHANA

(Former Gold Coast)

GHANA was the name of an ancient town in western Sudan, which has now disappeared. Till about 1050 C.E., the kingdom of Ghana was the most powerful State in west Sudan. In spite of its wealth and power, however, Ghana could not resist the attacks of the Almoravids. 'Abdallah bin Yasin seized the town of Awdaghost in 1054 C.E. Abu Bakr captured Ghana in 1076 C.E. The king agreed to pay tribute to the Muslim power, and the people willingly accepted Islam.

Ghana's former name, 'Gold Coast', is derived from the quantities of grains of gold mixed with the sand of the rivers traversing Ghana. Fetishism is the prevailing religion, but there are large numbers of Christians and Muslims. Akropong, in the hills north-east of Accra, is a centre of Christian missionary work. The British had occupied Gold Coast in the first half of the 19th century.

After World War I, the Christian missionaries made rapid and large-scale conversions of the people to Christianity. The Achimota college, an instrument of Christian proselytisation, was opened in 1927.

The State of Ghana came into existence on March 6, 1957, when it attained 'Dominion Status' in the British Commonwealth. The new name of the old country recalls a powerful monarchy which, from the 4th to the 13th century C.E., ruled over the region of the Middle Niger. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became the first premier of the country. The four regions of the State of Ghana are: (1) Former Gold Coast; (2) Ashanti; (3) Northern Territories; and (4) Togoland.

Ashanti was placed under British protection on August 27, 1896. Its area is 24,379 sq. miles; and 1966 estimated population over 1½ million. Kumasi is the chief town. Ashanti produces cocoa and has gold mines. The Muslims are in majority in Ashanti.

Northern Territories first became a British protectorate in 1901. Their area is 38,045 sq. miles (including the northern portion of Togoland); the 1966 estimated population was over 2 million. Tamale is the chief town. The population is overwhelmingly Muslim.

Togoland is a country of West Africa. Its maritime zone formed part of what was known as the 'Slave Coast'. Annexed to Germany in 1884, it was given a hinterland of nearly 35,000 sq. miles. Since 1919, it had been divided into British and French spheres. The Togolese natives number about 2½ million. The people are mostly pagans, but there are many Muslims and some Christians, too. Lome is the chief port. The country remained under the German rule for 30 years (1884-1914). British Togoland had an area of 13,041 sq. miles, and a population of about a million, about half of whom were Muslims. The French sphere, which adjoined Dahomey on the east, had an area of 21,893 sq. miles; the population was about 1½ million, with about 45 percent Muslims. British-administered Togoland became a part of the independent Republic of Ghana.

The present area of the Republic of Ghana (including Ashanti, the Northern Territories and former British Togoland) is 91,843 sq. miles, and population (1966 estimate) about 7½ million, including over 48 percent Muslims. Law and liberty have been victims of politics in Ghana. The Muslim community of Ghana was particularly oppressed in Ashanti and Northern Territories by former President Nkrumah.

During the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, the Ghanaian nation received severe blows in the process of democracy and civil liberty. Nkrumah had waged a war against both the Muslim minority and the tribal chiefs. He was the ruler of a country in which political opposition had been driven from sight. The Muslim leaders were arrested and deported and the 'Ghana Muslim Association' was banned.

On July 1, 1960, Ghana was proclaimed a republic, with Dr. Nkrumah being the president and premier combined for five years. Accra is the capital of Ghana, which is also the seat of the African High Command of the 'Casablanca Charter' countries. In September, 1962, the Ghana national assembly at Accra adopted a motion to make Dr. Nkrumah President of Ghana for life.

In 1958, a movement for the merger of Ghana and Guinea had failed. Ghana's neighbours frequently protested against Nkrumah's backing of subversion in their states.

President Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown by an army coup under Gen. Joseph Ankrah on February 24, 1966. The latter is now the head of state in Ghana, while Nkrumah has taken refuge in Guinea. Nkrumah was intensely anti-Muslim and an accomplice of Israel, while he also enjoyed, strangely enough, the close friendship of President Nasser of the U.A.R.

West Africa

1. PORTUGUESE GUINEA

Portuguese possessions in Africa are the following three :

Country	Area (in sq. miles)	1966 estimated population	Muslims %	Capital
1. Guinea	13,900	1,000,000	75	Bissau
2. Angola	481,350	6,500,000	5	Luanda
3. Mozambique	302,300	7,000,000	25	Lourenco-Marques

THE Portuguese have been in Africa longer than any of the other European colonisers. They were the pioneers of exploration in the 15th century, which eventually brought Europe to the African Continent. They have been in Angola since 1482, and in Mozambique since 1505, Portuguese Guinea being their third African colony. Mixed unions, 'with or without marriage', are common in these colonies—blessings of white civilization. There is no segregation, as such, except in social circles, where a culture rather than colour bar exists. All the three Portuguese territories are amongst the most backward in the Continent. The Catholic Church is very strong in its influence, converting the people forcibly to Christianity, and virtually controls education. Forced labour is openly admitted. Civil liberties and rights are non-existent.

Portuguese Guinea became a separate colony in 1879. The area of Portuguese Guinea is 13,900 sq. miles. The estimated (1966) population is about one million, including 75% Muslims. The capital is Bissau and Bolama is the former capital.

The people of the interior are mostly Fulani, among whom are scattered a large number of Mandingos (both Muslim tribes). Descendants of persons of various tribes, who became Christian converts, are called *Gurmettes*. Portugal has been using the NATO arms to suppress its African subjects. The United Nations has condemned the Portuguese colonialism in Africa and demanded the independence of the African people.

In Angola, there are only about 5 percent Muslims, and there are fewer Muslims in other south and south-west African countries and territories—Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, and South-West Africa.

2. SPANISH POSSESSIONS IN AFRICA

THE Spanish possessions are limited to north-west and west Africa, and islands off its north-western coasts. On the Atlantic coast of Africa, Spain holds the enclave of Ifni, in the south of which is the Spanish Sahara (*Rio de Oro*). In the Gulf of Guinea, Spain possesses, on the mainland, the Spanish Guinea (*Rio Muni*); and the Fernando Po, Annobon, Great and Little Elobey, and Corisco islands. The ports of Ceuta and Melilla are on the northern Moroccan coast, and the groups of the Alhucemas, Penon de Velez, and the Chafarinas islands in the Mediterranean.

Territory	Area (in sq. miles)	Population (1966 estimate)	Muslims %
IFNI	741	100,000	100
Spanish SAHARA (<i>Rio de Oro</i>)	105,448	50,000	100
Spanish GUINEA (<i>Rio Muni</i>) Fernando Po Islands	10,855	300,000	50
Ceuta, Melilla, Alhucemas, Penon de Velez, and the Chafarinas Islands	82	250,000	100
Total	117,126	700,000	88

The capital of Ifni is Sidi Ifni. Ifni was temporarily ceded to Spain by Morocco in 1860. There has been a politico-military government of Spain for both Ifni and the Spanish Sahara (*Rio de Oro*), which has been stationed in Cabo Juby. The entire population is Muslim.

The shelter of Ifni was incorporated under the Spanish sovereignty in flagrant violation of the 'Treaty of Tetuan'. According to Article 4 of that treaty, Spain had recognised that, she had, no sovereignty over that territory. To the south, the Turfaya region of Morocco was illegally placed under the Spanish protectorate as a result of an arbitrary 'Franco-Spanish Convention' of 1912. *Sekia al-Hamra* and *Rio de Oro* were added to Turfaya in the south to form what henceforth was referred to as the 'Spanish Sahara'. Morocco now claims Ifni as a part of her country and demands it back from Spain, but Spain refuses to discuss it.

The Spanish Sahara, in the south of Ifni, includes two zones: *Rio de Oro* (73,362 sq. miles) in the south, and *Sekia al-Hamra* (32,086 sq. miles) in the north, with a total area of 105,448 sq. miles. The chief towns are Villa Cisneros in *Rio de Oro*, and Smara in *Sekia al-Hamra*. The estimated (1966) population is over 50,000—all Muslims. Morocco claims the Spanish Sahara as a part of her own territory, and the history justifies the claim.

Tamanrasset in the Sahara—the chief town of the Hoggar—is the home of the blue-veiled Tuaregs. The Order of Christian 'White Fathers' was founded in the Sahara by Cardinal Charles Lavigerie in 1874 with the design of Christianizing Muslims in Africa. However, in the Sahara, there are practically no attempts at proselytism by the *Peres Blancs* any longer, because it is almost impossible, in this region, to convert a Muslim.

The chief town of Spanish Guinea is Bata. Its Muslim population is over 50 percent. In theory, Spain had received *Rio Muni* from Portugal in 1778, but, in practice, she only began occupying it around 1900. The Spanish authorities are vigilantly suppressing the nationalistic independence movement in *Rio Muni*, which is economically very poor, having been the victim of Spanish colonialism for a long time. There is no racial segregation in *Rio Muni*. Santa Isabel is the capital of Fernando Po islands.

Among all the European colonial powers, the Portuguese and the Spaniards are known to have been the worst. Both Portugal and Spain have a black record in connection with the forcible conversion to Christianity of the peoples that have been under their dominance any time anywhere. The U.N. Trusteeship Committee, on November 27, 1965, voted in favour of the self-determination and independence for Spanish possessions in Africa.

Ceuta is a fortified port on the Moroccan coast, opposite Gibraltar. Its area is 5 sq. miles, with a population of 100,000—all Muslims. Ceuta has been in the Spanish possession since 1581.

Melilla town, on a rocky promontory of the Rif coast, has been in Spanish possession since 1496; its population is about 125,000—all Muslims. Alhucemas includes six islands, situated in the Mediterranean on the northern Moroccan seaboard. Penon de Velez is a fortified rocky islet about 40 miles west of Alhucemas Bay. The Chafarinas are a group of three islands near the Algerian frontier. The total population of all these three groups of islands is about 25,000—all Muslims.

3. LIBERIA

LIBERIA is a negro republic in West Africa. Monrovia, its capital, is a safe port, as is Grand Bassa. The whole of this part of Africa, from Cape Palmas north-west to the Senegal, suggests a sunken land. In all probability, the western projection of Africa was connected by a land bridge with Brazil (South America) as late as the Eocene Period of the geological science.

At the end of the 18th century, the 'Grain Coast' was suggested as a suitable home for the repatriated negroes. Sierra Leone, however, was chosen first on account of its admirable harbour. In 1821, Cape Mesurado (the site of present Monrovia) was selected by the 'American Colonization Society' as an appropriate site for the first detachment of freed American negroes. Rev. Robert Gurley invented in 1824 'Liberia' as the name of the settlement. Independence was proclaimed in 1847. The native tribes are : Vai, Gbandi, Kpwesi, Mende, Buzi and Mandingo; the Vai, Mende and Mandingo are Muslim.

The President of Liberia is Dr. William V. S. Tubman. The constitution of the Republic is modelled on that of the U. S. A. The area is 43,000 sq. miles, and the (1966) estimated population is about 2½ million, including over 33 per cent Muslims. The Muslims, however, have no share whatsoever in the affairs of the country, which is in the hands of the Christians exclusively.

4. SIERRA LEONE

SIERRA Leone is an independent country on the west coast of Africa. It was known to its native inhabitants as *Romarong* (i.e., the mountain), and received the current designation from the Portuguese discoverer, Pedro de Sintra (1462). In 1787, this settlement of freed negro slaves was begun. Next year, a Timni chief, Nembana, 'sold' a strip of territory for the use of the settlers; thus, the British acquired the best harbour on the whole of the West coast of Africa. In 1794, the settlement was named 'Freetown'. Sierra Leone was known as 'the white man's grave', owing to its very bad climate; but it has fabulously rich diamond fields.

The area of Sierra Leone is 27,925 square miles; and its population is estimated (1966) to be about 3½ million (with about 6,000 Asiatics), the Muslims being over 45 per cent. Freetown is the capital. The main religions, according to the order of importance, are : Animism, Islam and Christianity. The Christian 'bastards' of Sierra Leone are called 'Creoles'. The ruling 'Sierra Leone People's Party' (SLPP) is led by the Premier, Sir Milton Margai. On April 27, 1961, Sierra Leone became an independent member of the British Commonwealth. Sierra Leone, being a poor and an utterly under-developed country, is in favour of a merger with neighbouring Liberia and Guinea. The country is in the hands of the Christian minority, as elsewhere in West Africa, and there is discrimination against the Muslims. Early in 1966, the country was headed towards a single-party government of S. L. P. P.

5. IVORY COAST

IVORY Coast is a West African country. The bulk of its inhabitants are animists (fetish worshippers), but all the Mande groups are Muslim. Christian missionary work is very active. The capital of the country was previously Bingerville (former Adjame), but now it is Abidjan. France occupied it in 1882. The area of the country is about 124,000 sq. miles, and the population (1966 estimate) is nearly 4½ million, including over 40 per cent Muslims.

It is a rolling country, broken only by a few isolated mountainous areas with peaks ranging upto 5,000 feet. Around the 15th century, navigators from Dieppe and Rouen in France crossed the dangerous 'bar' of turbulent coastal water in the Gulf of Guinea, which led the French sailors to call it the 'Coast of Teeth'. They began to trade in ivory with the aborigines; hence the 'Ivory Coast'.

In 1893, Captain Binger, along with Major Laing, started the campaign against the famous Muslim leader of West Africa—Almamy Samory—who finally surrendered to Captain Gouraud in 1898. In December, 1958, the Republic of the Ivory Coast was proclaimed, and in April, 1959, Felix Houphouët-Boigny was elected the Prime Minister. On August 7, 1960, the country became completely independent inside the 'French Community'. On November 27, Felix Houphouët-Boigny was elected the President of the Republic. On May 29, 1959, he had established the 'Council of the Entente', which comprised the Republics of the Ivory Coast, the Upper Volta, the Niger and Dahomey. He has been a great supporter of French imperialism in Africa—the reason why he is disliked and distrusted by the African nationalist leaders.

6. THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROONS

THE former German colony of Cameroons was occupied by French and British troops in 1916. The greater portion of the former territory was placed under French administration, and a strip on the southern and northern border of Nigeria under British. The area of the Republic is 183,750 sq. miles; its population (1966 estimate) is about 6 million, including over 45 percent Muslims. The capital of the country is Yaounde. In 1957, the French gave internal autonomy to Cameroons under Premier Andre Marie M' Bida. There are two big Muslim potentates in the Cameroons—the Sultan of Garoua, and the Lamido of Rei Boubba; the latter's domain, inside Cameroons, is Belgium-size.

The new statute came into force on January 1, 1959, by which the State of Cameroons became completely autonomous internally. The ministerial crisis of February, 1958, brought to power M. Ahmadu Ahidjo, leader of the 'Cameroon Union Group'.

When Cameroons celebrated her independence on January 1, 1960, under the Premiership of Ahmadu Ahidjo—a Muslim—'General' Felix Roland Moumié, the anti-Muslim leader of the banned U.P.C., incited the Bamileke tribesmen to rise against the country's Muslims, who were massacred in great numbers. Then, Moumié fled to Nkrumah's Ghana—the anti-Muslim bastion. The popular Muslim Premier, Ahmadu Ahidjo, became the President of Cameroons early in 1961. In February, the same year, plebiscites were held in the former British Cameroon's both sections—northern and southern. The northern-portion decided to join Northern Nigeria; the southern joined the State of Cameroons.

7. THE TOGOLESE REPUBLIC

THE Togolese Republic is a narrow strip of land, stretching from the Gulf of Guinea to the Upper Volta. The majority of the natives is pagan, though Christianity is making rapid progress in coastal districts. The area of the country is about 21,893 sq. miles; the 1966 estimate of the population being 1½ million (including over 45 per cent Muslims). Lome is the capital.

In 1884, Germany, through Bismarck and his agent, Nachtigal, signed treaties with coastal chiefs, making Togo and 'Kamerun' German colonies. At the end of the First World War, both colonies were divided by the League of Nations into British and French mandates; following the Second World War, both became 'Trust Territories' under the same administrations. Togoland has been called the 'Cinderella of West Africa', imagined to be menaced by her two neighbouring sister countries—Nigeria and Ghana. Since the plebiscite of May, 1956, British Togoland joined Ghana, while the former French Togo is now the Togolese Republic. In April, 1961, Premier Sylvanus Olympio was elected the first President of the Togolese Republic. The new regime resembled that of Ghana, in which the President was both Head of the State and the Chief Executive. The people of the Republic demand the re-unification with the country of that portion of Togo, which is annexed to Ghana.

President Olympio was shot dead in January, 1963, in Lome in a *coup d'état* under a former non-commissioned officer, Dodze. The insurgents were headed by Antoine Meatchi, a Togolese refugee in Ghana. The Revolutionary Committee announced the new government headed by M. Nicholas Grunitzky, brother-in-law of the assassinated President and a former Togo premier.

8. THE REPUBLIC OF DAHOMEY

DAHOMEY is an independent country in West Africa. The Dahomi form one of the 18 closely-allied clans occupying the country between the Volta and Porto Novo, and form their common tongue, known as the Ewe-speaking tribes. The Muslim tribes of Fula and Hausa inhabit the northern part, while the Dahomi proper are fetish worshippers. Cotonou is the capital, and Porto Novo is the chief port, which contains numerous churches and mosques.

The area of Dahomey is about 45,500 sq. miles, and the population (1966 estimate) is about 2½ million, including over 40 percent Muslims. Though small, Dahomey is densely populated. The Baribas, who live in upper Dahomey, are Muslim. The Yorubas (or Nagots), from Nigeria, have settled in the east. The Peuls, another Muslim tribe, are nomads from Mali.

Hubert Maga, Chairman of the 'Dahomian Democratic Rally' (R.D.D.), was elected the President of the Republic of Dahomey in December, 1960; he was also the chief executive. On August 1, 1960, Dahomey proclaimed her complete independence within the 'French Community, and a member-State of the 'Council of Entente'.

President Maga was replaced by Ahmoum Degbe; but two more Heads of State were elected and deposed, in quick succession, upto December, 1965. They were Sourou Migan Apithy and Tahirou Congacou, till in late December, 1965, General Christophe Soglo, Chief of Staff of the Dahomey armed forces, took over power in the country as the Head of State in a swift military *coup*, and dissolved the national assembly and all political parties.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE Republic is divided into four provinces, which consist of (1) the Cape province; 2) Natal (including Zululand); 3) the Orange Free State; and 4) the Transvaal. The population of South Africa consists of Europeans (Dutch and British), Africans, 'Mixed', and Asians. The Africans are mainly Bantus and Hottentots. 'Mixed' implies persons, who are the result of crosses between Europeans and Africans. Asiatics comprise Muslim Malays, Pakistani Muslims, and Indian Muslims and Hindus. An interesting element of the South African white population is formed by the 'depressed and idle whites', who disdain manual work, considering it to be the job of 'Kafirs'. Their number runs in hundreds of thousands. The Dutch settlers of South Africa are known as 'Boers'.

After the 'Peace of Nijmegen' of 1678, German as well as Dutch families were sent out to take up land, and also the Huguenot refugees exiled from France by the revocation of the 'Edict of Nantes'. The Dutch had by far the largest number of women, which accounts for the German, French and other nationalities being so rapidly absorbed into the Dutch South African nationality. It is noteworthy that, from this small nucleus of Dutch population has developed the immense preponderance of that race in South Africa today, owing of course to the extraordinary fertility and strength of procreation of Dutch women.

When the Dutch Company's rule in South Africa came to an end in 1795, after having lasted for nearly a century and a half, the Dutch settlement had been extended there far and wide. The Boer resented strangers and aliens. Religiously, he was very bigoted, narrow-minded and intolerant; socially, he was extremely insulated and vain. About 1836, some hundreds of Boers left Cape province under various leaders; the most noted being Pretorius and Retief. This veritable exodus is remembered as the 'Great Trek'.

By the middle of the last century, the four colonies and states, which were afterwards to form the four provinces of the Republic of South Africa, were finally constituted, and the foundations of South Africa, as an entity, were laid. The boundaries of these South African provinces were much enlarged at the expense of the territories of the

neighbouring African tribes — the Zululand, Tongaland, Basutoland, Kaffraria, Xosasland, Pondoland, Griqualand and Bechuanaland — between 1860 and 1895. These expansions were the results of the 'Zulu War', the 'South Africa War', and four 'Basuto Wars'.

The discovery of diamonds at Kimberley near the Orange river, in 1867, opened a new chapter in South African history. The diamondiferous area was in Griqualand, and the Griqua tribe was banished elsewhere arbitrarily by the Boers of the Orange Free State. In 1884, the territories of Namaqualand and Damaraland were occupied by Germany, with the name of 'the German South-West Africa'.

Hertzog's bill, legalising a colour-bar, was passed into law in 1926. The 'Immigrants Act' of 1913 stopped Indo-Pakistan immigration. In 1919, the Indo-Pakistanis in the Transvaal were deprived of their right to hold property and trade by a 'Gold Law' of 1908, while, in 1924, the Natal Indo-Pakistanis lost the Natal franchise.

One provision of the Versailles treaty attributed to South Africa, as a mandatory of the League of Nations, for the administration of the former German South-West Africa. The former 'Union of South Africa' was constituted under the 'South Africa Act' in 1909. The area of the Republic of South Africa is about 472,685 sq. miles. The estimated (1965) population is: White, about 3 million; African, over 12 million; 'Coloured', about 2 million; and Asian, about a million; total, about 18 million. The Muslims are about 20 percent. Pretoria is the capital.

The notorious Asian-hater Premier, Dr. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, as an advocate and practitioner of white supremacy, was the creator and chief apostle of *apartheid*, the intricate web of race rules enforced by the white minority on non-white majority. The South African government in 1958 banned the 'African National Congress', the major African political organisation in South Africa.

The former Union government, by its attempts through legislation to reduce humans to sub-humans, placed itself outside the comity of civilized nations. The government placed several discriminatory enactments on the statute book against non-whites. Thus, a new form of the 'Dark Age' has set in the Republic of South Africa, fraught with peril for the world and threatening to destroy all civilized values. The consequences of *apartheid* are being felt throughout the Afro-Asian world. *Apartheid* is an international question, which can no longer be shelved as a domestic affair of the Republic of South Africa. To the non-white peoples of the world, South Africa presents a test case of the sincerity of the white people.

During their 300 years' history, the main characteristic of the Afrikaaner (South African white) people has been their colour prejudice. A nefarious influence, in this respect, also, was that of the Christian Church. Gradually, the division of humanity became modified as Christianity came to be identified with the white skin. The traditional 'Cape Liberalism' was also removed in 1936. Under the former Premier, Dr. Verwoerd, the momentum of South African nationalism reached its zenith, with the policy of *baaskap* (another word for *apartheid*, i.e., white supremacy). South Africa had become an independent State in 1931. Ever since, the Afrikaaners (Boers) tried to establish South Africa as a republic—to have complete independence of the British interference. As a result of the *apartheid* in South Africa, every country south of the Sahara is facing racial trouble, and South African policies are agitating the nerves of race relations all over the African Continent.

On the issue of the mandated territory of South-West Africa, South Africa refuses to place it under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. In May, 1959, Albert Luthuli, President-General of the 'African National Congress' was restricted in his civil liberties. In March, 1961, South Africa left the British Commonwealth. In May, Charles Swart was elected the first President of the Republic of South Africa.

On July 18, 1966, the cases on *apartheid* and South-West Africa against the Republic of South Africa before the World Court at the Hague, brought by Liberia and Ethiopia, were rejected by the casting vote of the Australian President of the Court, Sir Percy Spender; the vote being equal. The judgment is expected to have far-reaching repercussions on race relations in Africa. The Special Political Committee of the United Nations recommended, in December, 1965, that the Security Council invoke economic sanctions against South Africa, and the U.N. General Assembly unanimously adopted an 'international convention' outlawing racial discrimination. In March, 1966, Muslims in Cape Town area were displaced, and those in Pretoria were restricted to attend prayers in the mosques.

Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd was slain on September 6, 1966, by an assassin's knife in the parliament house in Cape Town. His assassin was Dimitro Tsafendas—a greek messenger of the South African parliament. Balthazar John Vorster, tough exponent of *apartheid*, became, on September 13, South Africa's new Prime Minister. The white secret society in South Africa—the Broeder-bond—backs Vorster and his hated *apartheid*.

CHAPTER 21

NON-INDEPENDENT MUSLIMS

(C)

IN EUROPE

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The Balkans

1. ALBANIA

THE area of the country is 10,629 square miles, while the (1966) estimated population is about 2 million; the Muslims are over 80 per cent and Christians 20 per cent. The capital is Tirana. Dr. Omer Nishani was elected the first President of the Republic of Albania in 1946, with General Enver Hodja as the Prime Minister. The same year, Britain and the United States broke off relations with Albania, and vetoed its admission to the United Nations. There is only one political party, 'the National Liberation Movement' (*Levizje Nacional Clirimtare*), under the leadership of General Hodja.

From the 16th to the 19th century, the Balkans westward, as far as the frontiers of old Serbia, were under Turkish domination, and for 1½ centuries, from 1541 to 1699, Turkish power extended as far as Budapest. The Serbians, Rumanians, Bulgarians and Greeks became independent only in the 19th century. The Magyars, the Croats, the Slovenes, and various groups in Transylvania had also formed part of the great Ottoman empire for long.

Religion takes secondary place to nationalism in Albania. Politically, religion is not important there, and Muslims and Christians intermarry freely, as is the case in the Lebanon. The influential 'Bektashis' are a Muslim philosophical sect, which is the leader of nationalism. The Albanian language is the only survivor of the Thraco-Illyrian group of languages, once spoken in the Balkans. The Albanians call themselves *Shqipëtarë* ('the Children of the Eagle').

The country of Albania is made up of parts of the old Turkish provinces of Scutari, Yanina, Kosova and Monastir. After the 'War of Kossovo' in 1389, most of Albania was overrun by the Turks, and, in 1467, Albania passed under Turkish suzerainty; thus it remained until 1912, when her independence was proclaimed at Valona. Prince William of Weid was nominated by the London Conference of Ambassadors (December 17, 1912) to rule over it. He arrived at Durazzo on March 7, 1914. After the outbreak of the First World War, however, the Prince left Albania, which fell into a state of anarchy. By one of the secret treaties among the Allies, Albania was to have been partitioned, but Italy repudiated this decision, and so the independence of Albania was again proclaimed on June 3, 1917.

In January, 1925, the country was proclaimed a republic, which continued until 1928. In September that year, the constitution was again changed, and a monarchy introduced, the first king being Ahmed Beg Zogu, the President of the Republic, who reigned till April, 1939, when Italian troops invaded the country without any excuse and warning. The king fled to England, and a week later, the king of Italy was proclaimed king of Albania too, where the Fascist system was installed.

After the flight of King Zogu from Albania to England, no emigre government of Albania was recognized by the Allies; after the 'liberation', King Zogu was formally deposed *in absentia* in 1946. Shevket Verlaci was the leader of the first quisling government (1939—1941). He was succeeded by Mustafa Merlika Kriya, but his regime was upset by the Allies. Ehrem Libohova succeeded him. A 'General Council of National Liberation' was formed under Myslim Paza in the north, and in the south under Colonel Bilal Nivica. The Germans controlled Albania since the collapse of Italy. By the end of 1944, the country was freed from the invaders. In November, 1945, Albania's Communist regime was recognized. Early in 1946, the Republic of Albania was officially proclaimed under General Enver Hodja, who is still in power.

2. YUGOSLAVIA

YUGOSLAVIA was proclaimed a republic on November 29, 1945. In 1947, King Peter II and the other members of the Karageorgevitch dynasty were deprived of their nationality, and their property was confiscated. The present constitution provides for a 'Federal People's Republic', composed of the six republics of (1) Serbia; (2) Croatia; (3) Slovenia; (4) Montenegro; (5) Macedonia; and (6) Bosnia — Hercegovina. The Presidium, as a body, was the head of the State, which was composed of a President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and the National Assembly.

In 1950, Dr. Ivan Ribar was re-elected the President; Marshal Josip Broz Tito being the all-powerful and perennial Prime Minister (now President). The total area of Yugoslavia is 96,134 square miles, and the (1966) estimated population over 22 million. Belgrad is the capital. Serbo-Croat is the *lingua franca* of the country. There are over 15 percent Muslims in the country. The 'Muslim Religious Union' is headed by a *Rais al-'Ulema*, whose seat is in Sarajevo (capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina). The administration and supervision over all Muslim religious, educational and cultural activities is exercised by the '*Ulema Majlises*'—at Sarajevo and Skoplye (capital of Macedonia). Belgrad is situated within Serbia, while the capital of Croatia is Zagreb. The capital of Montenegro, Cetinje, is now renamed Titograd.

The Serbians remained under Turkish domination from 1389 until the 19th century. Montenegro, too, remained under Turkish suzerainty. Croatia was conquered by the Turks in the 16th century, and remained in their hands till 1699. Bosnia and Hercegovina were conquered by the Turks in the 15th century. The Slovenes, Dalmatians and the Vojvodinians, all, were conquered by the Turks upto 1526, who held them

until 1697. Now, large Muslim communities exist in Bosnia, Macedonia, and along the Albanian border.

Yugoslavia is, today, the most over-populated country in south-eastern Europe, and has the lowest average level of literacy and of income per head. The Bosnian town of Jajce is full of Turks and has many fine mosques. Sarajevo's 'Begova Mosque' is famous; its Turkish market is called 'Bascarsija'. Marshal Tito's early regime had been very unhappy for the Yugoslavian Muslims, particularly in Bosnia, with the result that, a large number of Muslim refugees from Yugoslavia had then taken shelter in Turkey and Syria. The Bosnian and Hercegovinian Muslims form the largest separate group of Muslims in south-eastern Europe. The great political leader of Yugoslavian Muslims, Muhammad Spaho (d. 1939) was the founder of the *Jugoslavenska Muslimanska Organizacija* (Yugoslavian Muslim Organization). After the establishment of the Croatian state in 1945, Islam was considered *de jure* the second state religion, Catholicism being the premier.

Besides Zagreb, Sarajevo, Skoplye and Jajce, another Muslim centre is Mostar in Hercegovina. Sarajevo has become a centre for European Islam, because of the influence of its 'Shari'at Theological School'. The Yugoslavian Muslims are generally poor. As landowners, they suffered terribly from Yugoslavian agrarian reform, which reduced them to paupers.

Among all the Muslim groups in Yugoslavia, the Croat Muslims at Zagreb are the most important, who number over a million today. It is said that, the celebrated architect of *Jama' al-Azhar*, Cairo, was a Croat Muslim - Dzafhar. According to the Turkish historian, Chelebi, in the first world war, the Christian Serbs destroyed mosques in the country, and converted one of them, *Batal-Djami'ah*, into a night club and house for prostitution. Many Croat Muslims were forcibly converted to Christianity. The ignoble name of the Serbian General, Drazha Mihajlovich, will go down in history as one of the worst and most cruel slaughterers of Muslims, who got hundreds of Muslims in Yugoslavia butchered in 1941; *Cetnik* being the name of the Serb military organization, which carried out these slaughters. During the early Communist regime in Yugoslavia, many prominent Croat Muslims were martyred. As in Ethiopia, Cyprus, Israel, India and Ghana, millions of Muslims in Yugoslavia, too, have suffered and are suffering because of their faith—**ISLAM**.

3. BULGARIA

THE Bulgarian People's Republic was proclaimed by the National Assembly on September 15, 1946. The principality of Bulgaria and the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia, both under Turkish suzerainty, were constituted by the Treaty of Berlin, July 13, 1878. Bulgaria had become a tributary to Turkey in 1366 and was annexed by her in 1393. In September, 1908, Bulgaria declared her independence of Turkey and Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Kohary assumed the title of the Tsar of the Bulgarians. His grandson, Simeon II, lost his throne as a result of the referendum, held in September, 1946, in favour of a republic. Now, the highest organ of the State is a collective body called the Presidium, which is elected by the National Assembly, in which the supreme power is vested. There is universal suffrage, and everybody over the age of 18 is eligible to vote and hold office. Bulgaria was, during both the World Wars, with Germany against the Allied powers.

In 1948, all the parties were merged in the 'Workers' Party', which alone is now the 'Fatherland Front'—the ruling party. In 1950, General Georgi Damianov was elected the President of the Presidium.

The area of Bulgaria was 42,796 sq. miles; the estimated (1966) population being over 10 million. National minorities were estimated at two million, including Muslim Truks (over 12%), Macedonians, Gypsies, Jews, Armenians and Rumanians. The capital is the city of Sofia. This 12 per cent Turkish Muslim community includes the Bulgaro-Muslims (Pomaks), too. The Danube island of Ada Kaleh has many Muslims. Sofia and Philippopolis possess beautiful mosques. Bulgaria is a poor agricultural country, and is over-populated. She is completely under Soviet Russian influence.

4. RUMANIA

IN DECEMBER, 1947, King Michael abdicated under Communist pressure, and shortly afterwards left the country. At the same time, the Rumanian parliament proclaimed Rumania a 'People's Republic'. In April, 1948, C. I. Parhon was elected the first President of the Presidium of the Republic; while Dr. Petre Groza of 'the Ploughmen's Front' became the Prime Minister. The peace treaty was signed in Paris in February, 1947. It fixed the frontiers, annulling the 'Vienna Award'. By this peace treaty, Rumania was to restore to the United Nations and their nationals all legal rights and interests in Rumania as they existed in September, 1939. In April and September, 1949, the British and American governments protested against the violation of the peace treaty by the Rumanian government.

In 1945, the area of Rumania was 91,671 sq. miles and the 1966 estimated population was about 23 million; the Muslim Turks being over 9 per cent. Bucharest is the capital. The races in the country were Rumanians, Magyars, Germans, Jews, Ruthenians, Russians, Bulgarians, Gypsies and Muslim Turks. There is a 'Muftiate' for the Muslims at Constanta—the Muslim centre, with mosques. The clergy, including that of the Muslims, is paid by the State. The Muslims are in the provinces of Wallacia, Dobruja, Moldavia and Transylvania.

5. GREECE

GREECE gained her independence from Turkey in 1821-29, and by the 'Protocol of London' of February, 1830, was declared a kingdom under the guarantee of Britain, France and Russia.

In April, 1941, the Germans completely routed the Greek army and occupied Athens. Greece could be liberated from the Germans in October, 1944. The German invasion of Greece had forced King George II to move his government first to Crete, then to Cairo, and later to London. The king died in April, 1947, Paul I succeeded his brother, George II. The present King of Greece is his 25-year old son, Constantine II.

The area of the country is 51, 246 sq. miles. Athens is the capital; its port is Piraeus. The 1966 estimated population of Greece was about 10 million; the Muslims being over 6 per cent, who have about 300 mosques in the country. Greece is one of the poorest countries in Europe.

The Muslims are found in Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace, and in the Ionian, Aegean and the Dodecanese islands, particularly in Crete and Rhodes, which were once the bastions of Islam in Eastern Mediterranean; but the religious bigotry of the Greeks systematically decimated the Muslims in them. As Italy has been the bulwark of Roman Catholicism, Greece has been that of the Greek Orthodox Church. Both of them have been the arch-enemies of Islam and the Muslims. This Hellenistic religious bigotry manifested itself in the organized genocide of the Turks in Greece, till the exchange of population in 1920 between Turkey and Greece saved them from complete annihilation. Again, today, it is manifest in the Greek intrigues with the Christian Cypriots to destroy the Cypriot Turks in that island. Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, is in league with 'Israel' and Greece to annihilate the Cypriot Turks. It is a very sad commentary indeed on the prospects of the unity and solidarity of Islam that, the United Arab Republic is openly hostile to the cause of the Cypriot Turks, and favours Greece against Turkey—obviously an un-Islamic act.

6. MEDITERRANEAN ISLANDS

A. CYPRUS

THE island of Cyprus is only 40 miles from the coast of Asiatic Turkey, and 60 from the coast of Syria. Its government frequently changed hands until 1571, when the Turks conquered the island from the Venetians, and retained possession of it until its cession to England under a convention. Britain had evil intentions for a long time to usurp the island, and waited only for a suitable opportunity, which came in June, 1878, when the Sultan was compelled to sign the convention. On the outbreak of hostilities with Turkey in November, 1914, Britain annexed the island. In May, 1925, Cyprus became a British crown colony. In November, 1931, disturbances arose in Cyprus between the Cypriot-Greeks and Cypriot-Turks out of the movement for the union of Cyprus with Greece—*Enosis*.

The area of Cyprus is 3,572 sq. miles. The 1965 estimated population is about 650,000, out of which the Muslim Turks are over 30 percent. The principal towns are: Nicosia (capital), Limassol, Famagusta, Larnaca, Paphos and Kyrenia. Cyprus is known as *Qubrus* by the Arabs, who named it so, because, in the Arabic language, *Qubrus* means 'copper', in which metal the island abounds.

After the British occupation, Cyprus became a centre of Jewish concentration and Zionist intrigues. In the Lausanne Conference of 1924, the Turks were forced by European Christian powers to accept British suzerainty over Cyprus. After the Second World War, Greek intrigues to usurp Cyprus commenced by an organised scheme of Greek Christian immigration into the island in order to convert its Muslim majority into a minority, and its ultimate annexation to Greece. Long

before the World War II, the movement for the emancipation of Cyprus had been started by the Cypriot Turks, but the Greek Cypriots conspired to change the movement of its independence into the merger of Cyprus with Greece. Thereupon, the Cypriot Turks countered it by claiming the annexation of the island to its real and original suzerain—Turkey.

In 1951, Makarios became the archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus. This wily and bigoted Christian priest started his favourite pastime of the bloodbath of innocent and defenceless Muslim Turks in the island in the disguise of a 'holy man'. He incited the religious hatred of the Cypriot-Greeks against the Cypriot Muslims, and, by inviting General Grivas, the leader of the Greek terrorist movement, *Eoka*, to Cyprus, started the systematic annihilation of its Muslim population. Makarios is personally responsible for sowing the seeds of eternal enmity among the two peoples in the island.

After 82 years of British occupation, Cyprus attained independence in August, 1960; but, prior to that, the British had created the same kind of racial enmity in the island, as they had managed to do in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent before its partition into Pakistan and India. Therefore, the Cypriot Turks demanded the partition of the island as the safest formula for their self-determination. According to the 'Independence Agreement', Dr. Fadhil Kutchuk, the Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus, possessed equal executive and administrative rights along with President Makarios. This constitutional position was guaranteed by Turkey, Greece and Britain. However, Makarios has upset the arrangement by altering the constitution to enable the island to unite with Greece, which is actively assisting Makarios to carry out his illegal scheme. When the Turks, under Dr. Kutchuk, stood up against the nefarious activities of Makarios, their bloodbath started from August, 1963, and still goes on unabated (December, 1966). The Cypriot Turks are suffering from untold hardships through the inhuman callousness and religious bigotry of Makarios. The most unfortunate episode of this state of affairs is the utterly un-Islamic collaboration of the United Arab Republic with Makarios against the Cypriot Turkish Muslims.

In February, 1966, Turkey pledged officially to defend "at all costs" the rights given to her under the Zurich and London agreements of the independence of Cyprus.

B. MALTA

MALTA was conquered by the Arabs in 870 C. E. This island was finally annexed to the British crown by the Treaty of Paris in 1814. It is one of the most important ports of call in the world situated in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea, and is the base and resort for repair and refitment of the British fleet in the Mediterranean. Malta is now an independent entity within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The area of Malta is 95 sq. miles, and that of the neighbouring island, Gozo, is 26 sq. miles; total area (with Comino) being 122 sq. miles. The 1966 estimated population is about 600,000; the Muslims being over 5 percent. The chief town and port is Valletta.

There was a time when the Mediterranean Sea was an Arab lake, and all its islands—Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Balearic islands, Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, Dodecanese and Aegean islands, all—had been in Muslim hands. However, the extreme hatred of the Christians against Islam and the Muslims and the traditional Christian religious bigotry and fanaticism ousted the Muslims (as is the case now in Cyprus) and destroyed their wonderful civilization and culture in these islands.

(2)

Eastern Europe

1. FINLAND

FINLAND has been a republic since July, 1919. Having been an integral part of the kingdom of Sweden from the 12th century onward, Finland was in 1809 united to the Russian empire as an autonomous grand-duchy. In December, 1917, the house of representatives unanimously proclaimed Finland an independent and sovereign state. The President is elected for 6 years.

The area of Finland is about 118,000 sq. m., and the 1966 estimated population is about 5½ million, including over 2 per cent Muslims. The capital city is Helsinki. In November, 1939, Soviet troops invaded Finland, after she had rejected territorial concessions demanded by the U.S.S.R. These, however, had to be made in the peace treaty of March, 1940, amounting to 16,170 sq. miles and including the Carelian Isthmus, Viipuri and the shores of Lake Ladoga. When in June, 1941, the Germans launched their attack on Russia, the Finnish army cooperated with the Germans and took part in the invasion of Russia. In September, 1944, an armistice was signed in Moscow between Finland on the one hand and Russia and Britain on the other, by which Finland agreed to cede to Russia the Petsamo area and to lease to her for 50 years the Porkkala headland to be used as a military base. The peace treaty was signed in Paris in February, 1947.

2. EAST GERMANY

(Deutsche Demokratische Republik)

UPON the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany, the People's Council of the Soviet Zone, appointed in 1948, was converted into a 'People's Chamber'. In October, 1949, this 'Chamber' enacted a constitution of the 'German Democratic Republic' (Soviet Zone of Germany), the Prime Minister of which is now Walter Ulbricht (Socialist Unity Party). The area of East Germany (Soviet Zone) is about 41,500 sq. m., containing the five provinces of Saxony-Anhalt (Magdenburg, Halle), Brandenburg (Potsdam), Mecklenburg (Rostock), Saxony (Leipzig, Dresden and Zwickau) and Thuringia (Erfurt), as well as the Soviet zone of the city of Berlin. The 1966 estimated population is about 25 million, with $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Muslims. An agreement, proclaiming the Oder-Neisse line to be the permanent frontier between Germany and Poland, was concluded in July, 1950. A later re-adjustment of frontier, made in 1951, revising the Potsdam Agreement, was rejected by the Western Powers. The Inter-Allied Reparations Agency, established by the Paris Agreement of 1946, declared 19 countries entitled to reparations by Germany, including Pakistan and Egypt.

3. POLAND

(Rzeczpospolita Polska)

POLAND became a state by the union of a number of Slavonic tribes settled in the basins of the Vistula, the Warta and the Oder. The nation was converted to Christianity in 966 C.E. Under the Piast dynasty (10th-14th centuries), German 'eastward expansion' (*Drang nach Osten*) deprived Poland of her north-western and western borderlands. Poland reached the height of her power in the period between the 14th and 16th centuries under the rule of the Jagiellon dynasty. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the position of Poland rapidly declined, and eventually the 'Polish Commonwealth', as it was then called, was divided between Prussia, Russia and Austria. In June, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles recognized the independence of Poland.

In September, 1939, Germany invaded Poland, Russian troops entered eastern Poland, and the German and the Russians signed a treaty establishing the line of demarcation between the two occupations. After the German attack on Russia, launched in June, 1941, the Germans got possession of the whole of Poland, but by March, 1945, the Russian armies had 'liberated' the entire country.

The republic comprises an area of 121,131 sq. miles, and an estimated (1966) population of over 33 million, with about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Muslims. Warsaw is the capital.

The Muslim Tatar tribe inhabits the environs of Wilno in the north-eastern region of Poland. Whereas all other Muslim peoples established themselves in Europe as conquerors (omitting the majority of Muslims in Yugoslavia, who are of Serb origin and were converted to Islam by their Turkish conquerors), the Polish Tatars inhabit a region never touched by a Muslim invader, and history tells us that, they began to settle in Poland from the middle of the 14th century and already professed the religion of Islam.

In 1370, the Tatars took part on the side of Lithuania in the war against the Teutonic Knights; in 1380, there was an alliance against Muscovy. Since the central power of the Golden Horde was becoming weaker, it was now the Khans, who sought the aid of the Polish-Lithuanian united kingdom. The most interesting attempt in this direction was the alliance with Khan Tochtamysh. Having been beaten by Timur, he came personally, in 1396, to seek the aid of Lithuania in his struggle for power. But, the Polish-Lithuanian army and Tochtamysh were defeated at the battle of Workala in 1399 by Khan Timur-Kutluk, a protege of the great Timur. The Tatars also took part in the well-known battle of Grunwald (1410), where the Teutonic Knights were annihilated.

In the continuous civil wars in the Golden Horde, the partisans of conquered Khans were generally obliged to seek asylum abroad, and often made for Lithuania—their traditional ally. After having lived for nearly six centuries in the country, the Polish Tatars have formed a separate ethnical group, with its own traditions and customs.

There is a treatise in Turkish, written by order of Rustam Pasha the Grand Vizier of Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent, by an anonymous Polish Tatar, during his stay in Istanbul. It is entitled *Risala'i-Tatar-i-Lekh* ('The Polish Tatars'), which describes the origin of the Tatars and their circumstances about 1550. In the second half of the 15th. century and in the 16th. century, interpreters of Turkish and Tatar, diplomatic couriers, and even special envoys were recruited from among the Polish Tatars. The middle of the 16th century saw the zenith of the development of the Polish Tatars. At that time they numbered over 200,000. Tarach Murza Buczacki is famous for having produced the only Polish version of the Holy Quran. After 1863, there was a current of emigration of the Polish Tatars towards Turkey, which continued upto the first world war. At the beginning of the 20th century, a new current of emigration began, this time towards the United States, with the result that, in New York alone, there is a Tatar colony of about 2,500.

With the Russian revolution of 1917-2), there began a new page of the history of the Polish Tatars. Just after the revolution, they founded at Petrograd an association, whose presidency was entrusted to Iskander Achmatowicz—a senator of Poland. This association took an active part in the nationalist movement of the Muslims of Russia. The Polish government had created a Muslim community under an autonomous Tatar *Mufti*—Jacob Szykiewicz. There are now 25 mosques in Poland, including one in Warsaw.

4. CZECHOSLOVAKIA (Ceskoslovenska Republika)

THE Czechoslovak State came into existence in October, 1918, when the Czech *Narodni vybor* (National Committee) took over the government of the Czech lands. The Slovak National Council at Turc expressed the desire of the Slovak nation to unite politically with the Czechs for forming a single sovereign independent Czechoslovak State. The first Czechoslovak National Assembly met in Prague and declared the Czechoslovak State to be a republic with Professor T.G. Masaryk as its first President (1918-35). By the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye of September, 1919, the Allied and Associated Powers recognized the Czechoslovak Republic, consisting of the Czech lands of the ancient kingdom of Bohemia, Moravia, parts of Silesia and Slovakia. To these lands were added as a trust, under the name of the autonomous province of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, several counties of north-eastern Hungary.

The new constitution, replacing that of 1920, was promulgated in June, 1948. The present Czechoslovak State is a 'People's Democratic Republic'. It is a unitary state of two Slav nations, the Czechs and the Slovaks, possessing equal rights. The supreme organ of legislative power is the National Assembly of one chamber. The 'National Front' was composed of the Czech and Slovak political parties and certain mass organizations. A government of the 'National Front' was first formed in May, 1951. The area of the country is 49,381 sq miles, and the 1966 estimated population is over 18 million, with about one percent Muslims. Besides Czechoslovaks, the country is inhabited by the Germans, Hungarians, Russians, Ruthenians, Poles and Jews. Prague is the capital.

5. HUNGARY

(Magyar Nepkoztarsasag)

IN the World War II, Hungary joined Germany. In March, 1944, German forces occupied Hungary. But, by April, 1945, Russian troops cleared the country of all German forces. The 'Allied Control Commission' ceased to function when the peace treaty came into force in September, 1947. In February, 1946, the national assembly proclaimed the Hungarian Republic. A new constitution of a 'republic of workers and working peasants' was adopted in August, 1949. Earlier, in February, the same year, all political parties of the country were merged in a single organization, called 'the Hungarian People's Independence Front.

The area of the Republic of Hungary is 35,912 sq. miles, and the 1966 estimated population, over 12 million, including about 2 percent Muslims. The population consists of, besides the Magyars (who are in an overwhelming majority), the Germans, Slovaks, Croats (mostly Muslims), Rumanians, Serbs, Jews and Gypsies. The constitution, 'in order to ensure the liberty of conscience', separated the Church from the State. In 1949, Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of the Roman Catholic Church, was sentenced to life imprisonment on the charges of political treason. In September, 1950, 59 Roman Catholic orders, with more than 10,000 monks and nuns, were dissolved and their monasteries taken over by the State. Budapest is the capital of the country.

(3)

Western Europe

1. BRITAIN

THE supreme legislative power of Britain is vested in its parliament, whose statutory limit is five years. The present form of the British parliament, as divided into two houses of legislature—the Lords and the Commons—dates from the middle of the 14th century C.E. The full House consists of about 835 members. Britain is a constitutional monarchy; the present monarch being Queen Elizabeth II; the present Prime Minister is Harold Wilson (Labour Party). The Conservative Party is in opposition in the British parliament. Britain is constituted of England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Isle of Man and Channel islands. The total area of the country is 89,041 sq. miles; the 1966 estimated population is over 55 million. London is the capital.

As regards Islam in Britain, unfortunately, most of the books written in English are anti-Islam, and the majority of the English writers deliberately seeks to malign Islam, with very few exceptions. A number of Britons have accepted Islam, the most important Islamic propaganda agency in Britain being the Islamic Mission and the Mosque at Woking, in England, founded by Khwaja Kamaluddin. The Woking Mission's literary organ is *The Islamic Review* (Maulavi Abdul Majid is its editor). The Mirza'is (Qadianis) have their own separate mosque in East London. London also boasts of an Islamic Centre, managed from Cairo (U.A.R.), with its own magazine, *The Islamic Quarterly*.

The total Muslim population, of all categories, in Britain is about one percent. A site in Regent's Park, London, was given to the Central London Mosque Trust by King George VI in 1944, where a million pound mosque is to be built shortly.

2. FRANCE

(Republique Francaise)

THE constitution of the French republic consists of a preamble and 100 articles. The preamble 'solemnly reaffirms the rights and freedoms of man and citizen as set forth in the 'Declaration of Rights of 1789', and proclaims equal rights for women, the right of asylum for anybody 'persecuted by reason of his action in favour of freedom', etc. The sovereignty of the 'indivisible, laic, democratic and social republic' (Art. 1) is vested in the French people and exercised by way of referendum (Art. 3). Parliament consists of the national assembly and the council of the republic. The suffrage is universal. The tenure of office of the President of the Republic is for 7 years. General de Gaulle is the present President; and M. Pompidou is the Premier. The area of the country is about 212,150 sq. miles. and the 1966 estimated population is over 50 million. Paris is the capital. No religion is officially recognized by the State.

A magnificent mosque has been constructed in Paris on a spacious plot of land granted by the French government to its Muslim residents as a token of its gratitude for their services rendered under French flag. There are over one percent Muslims in the country—mostly Algerians, Tunisians, Moroccans, Somalis and Senegalese, etc. The famous Muslim scholar of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, Dr. Muhammad Hamid-ullah, has established an Islamic centre in Paris. There have been great French writers on Islamic subjects, like M. Le Bon, Garcin de Tassi and Louis Massignon, etc., who have written fairly of Islam.

3. WEST GERMANY

(Bundesrepublik Deutschland)

GERMANY'S unconditional surrender came into force on June 5, 1945. On that day, all power in Germany was taken over by the four principal Allies, and, by the Potsdam decisions (July 17, 1945), that power was exercised by the commanders-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union, each in his own zone of occupation and also jointly, in their capacity as members of the 'Control Council'.

The Federal Republic of Germany now constitutes all the three occupation zones of the USA., Britain and France combined, that have been given freedom. The Republic is a democratic and social federal State. Bonn, on the Rhine, is the capital of the Federal Republic. The area of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) is about 94,500 sq. miles, and the 1966 estimated population is over 55 million. There are about $\frac{1}{2}$ percent Muslims and a number of Muslim organizations in the country. The federal Chancellor now is Dr. Kurt Georg Kiesinger.

Berlin (former capital of undivided Germany) was under quadripartite Allied government (*Kommandatura*) until July 1, 1948, when the Soviet element withdrew. Subsequently, separate agencies were set up in the Soviet sector. Berlin was divided into four sectors of occupation. The Russian sector comprised 402.8 sq. km., while the West Berlin constitutes all the three former occupation sectors under the British, American and French forces. Its combined area is now 487.1 sq. km. Berlin has a mosque and a number of Muslims. *Matba'-e-Kaviani*, Berlin, once produced excellent books on Islamic subjects. The famous journal, *Der Islam*, was also published from Berlin. The unfortunate 'Berlin Wall' now divides West Berlin from East Berlin—the Soviet sector. West Germany is arming Isra'el, South Africa and Portugal against liberation movements and is making arrangements to explode her first atom bomb in South-West Africa.

4. HOLLAND

(The Netherlands—Koninkrijk der Nederlanden)

THE reigning sovereign is Queen Juliana Louise Emma Marie Wilhelmina, who succeeded to the throne on the abdication of her mother (Queen Wilhelmina) on September 4, 1948; she was married to Prince Bernhard Leopold Frederik Eberhard Julius Coert Karel Godfried Pieter of Lippe-Biesterfeld in January, 1937. The royal family of the Netherlands, known as the 'House of Orange', descends from a German Count Walram, who lived in the 11th century, C.E. In 1404, the family settled in the Netherlands. The Belgian provinces were ordered by the Congress of Vienna to be joined to the Northern Netherlands, thus constituting one kingdom. The union thus established between the northern and southern Netherlands was dissolved by the Belgian revolution of 1830, which constituted Belgium as an independent kingdom in 1839.

The area of Holland is about 12,500 sq. miles and the 1966 estimated population is about 14 million. The capital is Amsterdam. Another important city is The Hague, which houses the International Court of Justice. The town of Leiden is known to the Muslim world, from where is published the well-known *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, with the anomaly, that it is compiled entirely by the Jews and Christians; the name of the publishing house of E.J. Brill, Leiden, is also noted for having published numerous books on Islamic subjects. There are about $\frac{1}{2}$ percent Muslims in Holland. An interesting feature of the religious life of Holland is, that, according to the latest official census, there were about 2½ million people in the country, who registered themselves as 'atheists'. The Boers in South Africa are the Dutch settled there.

5. BELGIUM

(Royaume de Belgique—Koninkrijk Belgie)

THE reigning monarch is King Baudouin, who succeeded to the throne on the abdication of his father, King Leopold III, in August, 1950. The kingdom of Belgium formed itself into an independent State in 1839, having, from 1815, been a part of the Netherlands.

In the Treaty of Versailles (June, 1919), the treaties of 1839 were abrogated to be replaced by other treaties. According to the Constitution of 1831, Belgium is 'a constitutional, representative and hereditary monarchy'. The legislative power is vested in the King, the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives. The area of Belgium is 11,755 sq. miles, and the 1966 estimated population is over 10 million. There are about $\frac{1}{2}$ percent Muslims in the country. Brussels is the capital; another important city is Antwerp.

6. AUSTRIA

(Republik Osterreich)

UNTIL March 12, 1938, Austria remained an independent state; on that date, it was forcibly absorbed in the German Reich until it was liberated by the armies of the United Nations. Already in the 'Moscow Declaration' of October, 1943, Britain, the USA., and the USSR., had resolved upon the reestablishment of a free and independent Austria. By May, 1945, the whole of Austria had been occupied by the troops of the four powers, and was divided into four zones, allotted to each power. In Vienna—the capital—four sectors were likewise divided among the occupying four powers, and Vienna was also the seat of the Allied Council. The total area of Austria is 32,375 sq. miles; and the 1966 estimated total population is over 10 million (there are about $\frac{1}{2}$ percent Muslims in the country).

7. SWITZERLAND

(Schweiz—Suisse—Svizzera)

IN 1815, the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland and the inviolability of her territory were guaranteed by Austria, Britain, Portugal, Prussia and Russia, and the 'Federal Pact,' was accepted by the Congress of Vienna. The Pact remained in force till 1848, when a new constitution was passed without foreign interference. This, in turn, was, in May, 1874, superseded by the constitution, which is now in force. The supreme legislative authority is vested in a parliament of two chambers: a *Standerat* (or, Council of States), and a *Nationalrat* (or, National Council). Both the chambers united are called the *Bundes-Versammlung* (or, Federal Assembly), and, as such, represent the supreme government of the republic. The President of the Confederation and the Vice-President of the Federal Council, both, are elected for the term of one year.

The area of Switzerland is about 16,000 sq. miles, and the 1966 estimated population is over 7 million; there are $\frac{1}{2}$ percent Muslims in the country. Berne is the capital. Other important towns are: Zurich, Lausanne and Geneva, which remains a venue of frequent international conferences. The German language is spoken in 18 of the 25 cantons; the French in five; the Italian in one (Ticino), and the Romansch in one (Graubunden). There is an Islamic Centre in Geneva, founded and managed by Dr. Sa'id Ramadan—the leader of *Ikhwan al-Muslimoon*. There is complete and absolute liberty of conscience and of creed. The 'Society of Jesus' cannot be received in any part of Switzerland, and the interdiction can be extended to any other religious orders, whose action interferes with the peace of different creeds. The foundation of new convents or religious orders is forbidden.

8. ITALY

(Repubblica Italiana)

THE area of the country is about 116,000 sq. miles and the 1966 estimated population is about 53 million. There are no Muslims in the country. Rome is the capital. The other notable cities are Milan, Naples, Palermo, Florence, Venice and Genoa. The treaty between the 'Holy See' and Italy of February, 1929, confirmed by article 7 of the constitution of the Republic, lays down that the 'Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion' is "the only religion of the State". Other creeds are permitted and tolerated. In practice, however, Protestants and other non-Roman Catholics suffer many disabilities. According to the latest census figures, there are over 30,000 self-declared atheists. The religiously-bigoted Roman Catholic Italians nourish a particular hatred against and animosity towards Islam and the Muslims.

The Vatican City (*Stato della Citta del Vaticano*): For many centuries until Pius IX's reign, the Popes bore temporal sway over a territory stretching across mid-Italy from sea to sea and comprising an area of some 16,000 sq. miles, with a population of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ million. In 1870, the Papal states were incorporated with the Italian kingdom. In 1929, a settlement of the 'Roman Question' was arrived at by treaties between the Italian government and the Vatican, by which the 'Holy See' lost its temporal power. Now, the Pope exercises the sovereignty only within the limits of the Vatican, near Rome. The area of the Vatican City is now 44 hectares (108.7 acres) only. It has its own railway station, post office, coinage and radio. Its latest estimate of population (1966) is about 2,000. The present Roman Pontiff is Pope Paul VI. The Cardinals are now regarded as 'Princes of the Church' at large. Their total number does not exceed 70. Throughout the world, the Roman Catholic population is estimated at about 400 million. The Pope and Roman Catholicism, like the Jews and their present movement of the Zionism, have been the traditional enemies of Islam.

9. SPAIN

(Estado Espanol)

IN February, 1938, the first civil government was proclaimed, with General Franco, possessing dictatorial powers, at its head. The present 'Leader (*Caudillo*) of the Empire', Chief of the State, C-in-C. of the armed forces, Prime Minister and Head of the 'Falange Party' is General Francisco Franco Bahamonde (75 in 1967). In April, 1937, the various political groups in the 'Nationalist Movement' were united by General Franco into one single political party, under the title of *Falange Espanola Tradicionalista y de los J.O.N.S.*

Continental Spain has an area of about 189,000 sq. miles. The 1966 estimated population of Spain is about 35 million. Madrid is the capital. Other Spanish towns, with ancient Islamic history and traditions, are: Barcelona, Valencia, Seville, Malaga, Murcia, Granada, Cordova, Cartagena, Toledo and Badajos. Most of the splendid Islamic monuments in them have been destroyed by the wild and uncivilized Spaniards, while many mosques and palaces have been converted into profane public places.

Under the Franco regime, Catholicism is again established as the religion of the state. There are only a few Protestants, for whom there is no liberty. Like the Portuguese, the Spaniards are very religiously bigoted and fanatic. Both of them have converted people by force. Both Spain and Portugal had enjoyed, for seven centuries, the enlightened and civilizing rule of the Muslims, but they repaid the debt by destroying all the vestiges of Islam, so much so that today there is not a single Muslim left in the entire Iberian peninsula. With minor exceptions of France and Britain, Spain and Portugal are now the only European colonial powers in Africa; they have been the worst colonizers.

CHAPTER 21

NON-INDEPENDENT MUSLIMS

(D)

IN AMERICAS

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(1)

North and Central America

1. CANADA

THE territories, which now constitute Canada, came under British power at various times by settlement, conquest or cession. Canada, with all its dependencies, was formally ceded to Britain by France in 1763. The present position of Canada in the British Commonwealth of Nations was defined at the Imperial Conference of 1926.

The total land area of Canada is 3,499,116 sq. miles; and the 1966 estimated population is about 18 million. The seat of government is at Ottawa. Other principal cities are : Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, where is located the McGill University. The Institute of Islamic Studies of this University had been founded by Dr. Wilfred Cantwell Smith (who is now the head of the 'Center for the Study of World Religions', Harvard University, U.S.A.), the author of a number of studies against Islam. Dr. Smith is a master-craftsman in the art of undermining Islam in his own peculiar and subtle style. There are about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Muslims in Canada.

2. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE 'Declaration of Independence' of the 13 states, of which the 'American Union' then consisted, was adopted by the Congress on July 4, 1776. The executive power is vested in a president, who holds office for four years. The presidential election is held every fourth (leap) year on the first Tuesday in November. The present President of the U.S.A. is Lyndon B. Johnson. The whole legislative power is vested by the Constitution in a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. There are 50 states now in the country. The land area of the U.S.A. is 3,558,057 sq. miles; and the 1966 estimated population is over 185 million. There are about 16 million Negroes, over 700,000 Indo-Pakistanis, and about 10 million Jews in the country, who virtually control the political, economic, commercial and intellectual life as well as the press of the U.S.A. The capital is Washington, D. C. Other principal cities are New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Detroit and San Francisco.

The U.S.A. (particularly the southern states) suffers from the malady of racial prejudice, and the Americans are religiously narrow-minded, bigoted and basically anti-Islam. They spend vast amounts in Asia and Africa for Christian missionary work, and actively help Israel and Zionism against the Arabs and Islam. There is an Islamic Center and Mosque at Washington, D. C. The so-called sect of the 'Black Muslims' in the country is maligned by the Americans; to their chagrin, the World Heavy-Weight Champion, Muhammad Ali Clay, belongs to this sect, whose leader is Elijah Muhammad. There is also a well-organized 'Islamic Youth Association of the U.S.A. and Canada' for the entire North America, with its seats both in Canada and the U.S.A. If any interest the U.S.A. has in the Muslim World, it is merely strategic, not human. The Hartford Seminary Foundation in the U.S.A. publishes a magazine with a very misleading name, 'The Muslim World.' In 1966, there were about one percent Muslims and mosques at several places in the country.

3. MEXICO

(Estados Unidos Mexicanos)

MEXICO'S history falls into four epochs: 1) The era of the Red Indian empire (before 1521); 2) the Spanish colonial phase (1521-1810); 3) the period of national formation (1810-1910), which includes the war of independence (1810-21); and 4) the present period, which began with the social revolution of 1911-21.

Mexico is declared a federative republic, divided into 28 states, each of which has the right to manage its own local affairs. Congress consists of a Chamber of Deputies elected for 3 years by universal suffrage, and a Senate elected for 6 years. The President is elected by direct popular vote in a general election, and holds office for 6 years. He can never be re-elected. Mexico comprises the total area of 760,375 sq. miles. The 1966 estimated population is about 35 million. There were about 2 million aborigines (Red Indians), who spoke their native tongues only. The capital is Mexico City. The prevailing religion is the Roman Catholic. There are only a few Muslims in the country.

4. WEST INDIES

THE independent Dominion of West Indies in the British Commonwealth of Nations falls into 6 groups : 1) Bahamas; 2) Barbados; 3) Jamaica, with Turks Islands; 4) Leeward Islands; 5) Trinidad with Tobago; and 6) Windward Islands.

TRINIDAD : Trinidad was discovered by Columbus in 1498, and colonized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In 1797, Britain being at war with Spain, Trinidad was occupied by the British, and ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. Area : Trinidad, 1,864 sq. miles; Tobago, 116 sq. miles. The 1966 estimate of the total population is about a million. Port of Spain is the chief town of Trinidad. The Muslims are over 10 per cent.

The Trinidad Muslim League was founded in August, 1947. Another important Muslim society in Trinidad, *Anjuman Taqviyatul Islam* (The Society for the Revitalization of Islam), was founded in 1926, whose *Mufti* was the respected Muslim leader of Trinidad, al-Hajj Maulavi Ameer Ali. A third Muslim society in Trinidad was *Anjuman Sunnah wa'l Jama'ah*. A fourth Muslim organization in Trinidad was *Anjuman Tableegh al-Islam*, which was formed, along with others, in the capital of Trinidad, Port of Spain, in 1940. There are more than 50 mosques in various parts of Trinidad. The League added 'the Jinnah Memorial Mosque', built in 1954, at the League centre in St. Joseph, just outside Port of Spain.

(2)

South America

1. GUIANAS

A. *GUYANA (former British Guiana)* : This territory was first partially settled by the Dutch West India Company about 1620. The Dutch retained their hold on it until 1796, when it was captured by the English, and was finally ceded to Britain in 1814. Guyana is situated on the north-east coast of South America on the Atlantic Ocean, with the Dutch Guiana (*Surinam*) on the east, Venezuela on the west, and Brazil on the south and west. The capital of this former British Guiana is Georgetown. The area is 83,000 sq. miles; and the 1966 estimated population, over 700,000, the Muslims being about 15 percent. Ex-premier Dr. Cheddi Jagan is the source of constant political trouble in the country. Former British Guiana became independent (within the British Commonwealth on May 26, 1966, and assumed the name of Guyana. Its prime minister is Forbes Burnham. Guyana United Muslim Party (G.U.M.P.) is an active organization.

B. *FRENCH GUIANA (Guyane Francaise)* : French Guiana, on the north-east coast of South America, is administered by a French prefect. Its area is about 34,750 sq. miles, and its 1966 estimated population is about 50,000—the Muslims being about 12 percent. Gayenne is the chief town.

C. *DUTCH GUIANA (Surinam)* : Netherlands Guiana, or *Surinam*, is situated on the north coast of South America between Guyana and French Guiana. At the Peace of Breda, in 1667, between England and the United Netherlands, *Surinam* was assigned to the Netherlands, and this was confirmed by the Treaty of Westminster of February, 1674, at the Peace of Amiens (1802) and at the Peace of Paris (1815). Its area is 55,000 sq. miles, and the 1966 estimated population, over 300,000—the Muslims being about 20 percent. Its capital is Paramaribo.

2. BRAZIL

(Estados Unidos do Brasil)

BRAZIL was discovered in 1500 by the Portuguese Admiral Pedro Alvares Cabral, and thus became a Portuguese settlement; in 1815, the colony was declared 'a kingdom' and in 1822, Dom Pedro, eldest surviving son of King Joao of Portugal, proclaimed the independence of the country. In 1889, his only son, Dom Pedro II, was dethroned by a revolution, and Brazil declared a republic under the title of the 'United States of Brazil'. There is a bicameral legislature—the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The President and Vice-President are elected for 5 years and are not eligible for successive terms. A novel provision of the constitution is, that no taxation may be levied upon the royalties of authors or the incomes of professors or journalists.

The area of the United States of Brazil is 3,288,050 sq. miles, and the 1966 estimated population is over 65 million; the Muslims are about $\frac{1}{2}$ percent in the country. The capital is Rio de Janeiro; other important city is Sao Paulo. The population is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic; there are 800,000 professed 'Spiritualists', and 150,000 avowed atheists. The Arabs had reached Brazil long before the Portuguese; there was then an Arab colony in the country, known as 'Brazilio'.

3. THE REST OF SOUTH AMERICA

AFTER the three Guianas and Brazil, the Muslims (mostly Arabs) in South America are found particularly in Venezuela because of oil in that country. Muslims are also found in other South American republics—Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentine, and even in Chile.

CHAPTER 21

CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH ORIENTALISM *versus* ISLAM

EVEN after the Christendom ignominiously failed to destroy Islam by force in the Crusades, it did not renounce its nefarious aim, but simply changed its weapons and tactics to achieve the same purpose. With the help of the world Jewry, the Christian world, particularly the Pope and his Roman Catholic missionaries, started the Islamic version of Orientalism, and planted Zionism and Israel in Palestine. In this common cause, all the Christian States of Europe and Americas joined hands with the Christian missionaries of almost all denominations and the Orientalists. This intellectual 'Crusade' has been going on against Islam for the last two centuries and more. Though the Christian missionaries and Christian and Jewish Orientalists (the so-called 'Islamists') have again failed even in this field, yet they have been successful in one aspect of their 'Crusade', that is, in the creation of a class among the Muslim intelligentsia of the world, who, through their studies of English, French, German, Dutch, Italian and Spanish works on Islam by the pen of these Orientalists, have started to show scepticism even in the fundamental tenets of Islam, and want to manufacture a 'modern edition of Islam,' the norms of which are Western secularism and modernism. Christian institutions, like the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal (Canada), are busy in turning out their Muslim disciples to disseminate un-Islamic ideals to disrupt the integrity and solidarity of Islam.

Real Founder of Christianity :

Hundreds of books have been published during the past centuries in the Christian world in almost all European languages against Islam

and its great founder—Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him), but few Muslim scholars have ever replied in the same vein, simply because the teachings of Islam revere Christ, counting him among the true Prophets of Allah. However, it is in the fitness of things that, we briefly examine as to who really was the founder of Christianity, which, along with the Jewry, is one of the bitterest enemies of Islam and its founder. Christianity is not the child of Jesus, but merely the spawn of Judaism. Dr. Havelock Ellis says (in his essay on 'St. Francis and Others', published in *Morals, Manners and Men* Watts & Co., London, and also in *Affirmations*, published by Walter Scott in 1897): "The religion of Jesus was the invention of a race, which itself never accepted that religion". The real founder of Christianity was the Jew, Paul, and Jerome, Augustine, Luther, and others, were his disciples, not of Jesus. That 'marvellous little Jew' painted, in its main outlines, the picture of Christianity, which, in the theatre of this world, has, for so many centuries, shut the humanity off from Jesus. Everything that has ever been evil in Christianity—its accursed intolerance, its religious bigotry, superstitions and fanaticism, and its contempt for reason, all—flows directly from Paul—the morbid Jew. This Paul, and not Peter, was the rock on which the Church was built. Thus, the Christianity of Jesus is actually the 'Pauline Christianity'.

Paul was a shameless liar and 'very much a ravening wolf'. Inspired by the old story of Daniel's vision (about 538 years before the birth of Jesus), Paul acted 'the first act of the comedy' that "Jesus had spoken to Paul from heaven" and 'the sheep's clothing was duly donned from that moment'. A laboured attempt has been made in the relevant text of the *Acts of the Apostles* to make Paul's 'vision' and 'audition' acceptable as realities. According to the chronology 'hallowed' by Christianity, it was in the year 34 or 35 that Jesus "spoke to Paul from the skies"; 25 years later, Paul made known publicly of his 'supernatural interview' with Jesus, who spoke to him in the Hebrew tongue—a loathsome blasphemy concocted by Paul. Paul infused and wove into the simple story of Jesus the most mysterious principles of Neo-Pythagoreanism, with its notion of the triad, and hopelessly complicated and confused that simple story by working into it esoteric conceptions in vogue in Egypt and Syria about the birth, death and resurrection of Osiris, the idea of the Isis-Ceres, the virgin-mother 'holding in her arms the new-born sub-god Horus'. Paul's greatest contribution was, however, the dogma of 'Christ's Crucifixion'. Few Christians know that the Gospel, according to St. John, was written about 50 years after the 'Crucifixion'—between 80 and 95 C. E. The same remark applies to the Gospel, accord-

ing to St. Luke, who was 'personally instructed' by Paul. Thus, 'Christ's Crucifixion' is a later innovation and does not form part of the religion given by Jesus.

The teachings of Freemasonry and Rosicrucianism appear to be identical; the latter's headquarters were in California (U.S.A.) under the title, *Ancient and Mystical Order Rosae Crucis*. There is an adhesion between the higher degrees of Freemasonry and the Rosicrucian lodges, and also that the knowledge possessed by Rosicrucians, in regard to the life of Jesus, is also shared by the higher degrees of Freemasonry. One of the ornaments, worn by Freemasons at their secret meetings, is a silver figure of a bird (to represent a vulture) surrounded by rubies (to represent the blood of its victim—Jesus), a disgusting reference indeed to his sacred body. In short, all doctrines and dogmas, which supported the 'Crucifixion', were conceived by the Jew, Paul, and his associates in order to make possible the survival (and to facilitate the rise to secret power) of Judaism and Jewry. The dogma of 'Christ's Crucifixion' was invented by Judaism, propagated and kept in force by it for the sake of its own survival. According to this legend, Jesus was alleged to have been 'crucified' in 33 C.E. The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke were not written until it was in the vital interest of the Jewry for them to be written, i.e., between the years 70 and 75 C.E., and the *Acts of the Apostles* (where Paul's 'visions' of Jesus 'enjoying equalship with God' are recorded) falls into the same period. John's Gospel was written as late as the end of the first century. That's why, even today, Jewry is the lord of Christendom, and Judaism is the lord of Christianity.

Christian Morality :

In his *Progress of Worldwide Missions* (Harper & Bros., New York, 1960), Rev. Dr. Glover, while representing the anti-Muslim Western Christian evangelical missionaries, takes refuge behind Sir William Muir's anti-Islamic writings, when he utters abusive lies against Islam and its revered Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him), whom he persists in calling 'Oriental', forgetting conveniently that Jesus himself was an Oriental. While attacking Islam, Rev. Glover must not have been ignorant of John William Draper's classical work, *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, and Will Durant's *The Age of Faith*, in which the true face of 'Christian morality' is exposed; particularly, the following sentence in *The Age of Faith* is most significant: "Once triumphant, the Church ceased to preach toleration" (p. 467). We learn from these irrefutable sources a lot about the activities of the Christian barbarians

of Europe during the Industrial Revolution, with their shameful record of bonded labour, serfs and slave trade, and of mass debauchery, slaughter and extermination of innocent coloured people in the Americas, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand upto the end of the 19th century. The triumph of this barbarism in the wake of technical advancement, coupled with moral bankruptcy, masqueraded in the name of the so-called 'Christian civilization'. Religion is an article, which, for centuries, the Westerners have deemed unfit for home consumption in any sphere of practical life, but which is exported generously to the East for commercial exploitation and political ends under the guise of 'spiritual salvation'.

'Infallible' Popes :

The iniquity of the Church reached its crescendo when, according to Will Durant, during the accursed 'Inquisition', in crushing one single heresy—the Albigensian Heresy—alone, one million men, women and children were massacred. *The Age of Faith* says: "We must rank the Inquisition, along with the wars and persecutions of our time, as among the darkest blots in the record of mankind, revealing a ferocity unknown in any beast." All this was done by the orders of the 'Infallible' Popes. In 897 C.E., Pope Stephen VI had the corpse of Pope Formosus (891-6 C.E.) exhumed, dressed it in purple robes, and tried before an ecclesiastic council, on the charge of violating certain Church laws; the corpse was condemned, stripped, mutilated, and plunged into the Tiber. But, the same year, a political revolution in Rome overthrew Stephen, who was strangled in jail. For half-a-century, the family of Theophilact made and unmade popes at will. His daughter, Marozia, secured the election of her lover as Pope Sergius III (904-11 C.E.). His wife, Theodora, procured the election of her paramour, who became Pope John X (914-28 C.E.). In 931 C.E., Marozia raised to the papacy John XI (931-35 C.E.), also commonly known as her bastard son by Sergius III. In 955 C.E., Marozia's grandson became Pope John XII, who distinguished his pontificate by orgies of debauchery in the Lateran palace. This pope committed adultery with his own father's wife and incest with his niece, and converted the papal palace into a veritable brothel.

Slave Trade :

The meaningless devastations and barbaric deeds of the Crusades were carried on by the Christendom against Islam for full two centuries. The 'Inquisition', with all its horrors, was kept alive over half of Europe for about five centuries. The modern slave trade, with all its monstrosities,

ties, which was started with Pontifical consecration, in the 15th century, was carried on, with active ecclesiastical participation, for almost four centuries. So, also modern 'serfdom', in Russia alone, had about 50 million bonded humans under the yoke of the Orthodox Church right upto the close of the 19th century. In Central Europe, approximately one-third of all land belonged to the Church. The codes of ecclesiastical morality have been ever changing; their main characteristics are: celibacy with concubinage; indissoluble marriages; slaughters and burnings at stakes of 'witches'; slaves; serfs; and excommunications. In short, truth, liberty and civilization completely disappeared wherever the Popes held sway. The progressive laxity in morals in progressive West has now reached a stage in which the word 'sin' has lost any meaning. Communism, which is today an obsession of the West, particularly of the U.S.A., actually sprang up from the trunk and roots of Western Capitalism itself. Millions of atheist renegades from Christianity throughout the Christendom are, in fact, the rebels against the fallacies of Christian religion and its so-called morality and civilization.

Bible :

Until the 16th century, the Bible was strictly kept away from the laity and was not in the possession of even all the priests. There was almost complete illiteracy for a thousand years after the establishment of the 'Pauline' Christianity. Only in the 17th century, the Bible came into the hands of the public for the first time. Before that, the translators or publishers of the Bible were liable to be burnt at the stake. William Tyndale was burnt in 1536 for this 'crime', and for the same 'offence' Wycliffe's bones were dug out from his grave, forty years after his death, by a decree of the 'Council of Constance' and burnt. People were executed for teaching their children the 'Lord's Prayer' and 'Ten Commandments' in English. Possessors of the banned 'Wycliffe Bible' were hunted down as if they were wild beasts. Wycliffe's was a far more serious 'crime'. He had dared to attack the corruptions of the Church, particularly the enormities of the 'begging friars'. He had denounced 'Pardons' and 'Indulgences' even 'Masses' for the soul as parts of a system of a gigantic religious fraud. Dr. Halevy, Dr. Litt and Arthur Ireland, writing in the *Universal History of the World*, on the life in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe, tell us that, in its wake, a host of anti-Christianity writers appeared all over Europe, voicing public opinion. Violent books were written, directed not only against the Church of England, but against Christianity as a whole. Young Shelley had been expelled from the University of Oxford for having written an apology of atheism; he had fled to Italy, where he met Byron, who posed as a kind of an arch-

rebel, and who, in defiance of Christianity, inaugurated a poetical 'school of blasphemy'. Most of the clergy led just as dissipated lives as did the worst rakes of the day.

The renowned English philosopher, Bertrand Russell, says in *Why I am Not a Christian* (London, 1961) :

"Every moral progress that there has been in the world has been consistently opposed by the organized Churches of the world. The Christian religion, as organized in its Churches, has been and still is the principal enemy of moral progress in the world."

John William Draper in '*A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*' (Vol. II, London, 1891) and also in '*A History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science*' (London, 1927) agrees entirely with the remarks made by Russell, and adds that "Christian missionaries have almost always and everywhere been the agents of disruption and ill-will."

Christianity, as preached by Jesus, was killed by Paul; Christianity, as preached by Paul and Peter, was killed by the 'Church Fathers', during the 3rd and 4th centuries—the process of corruption and atrocities was continued upto the 17th century. What was left of it was finished during the course of the Reformation, and literally several hundreds of independent, mutually exclusive, varieties of Christianity sprouted forth, with the result that, now there is no Christianity left at all of whatever label anywhere of any divine authority.

Anti-Islamic Orientalism :

A very weak revival of learning had begun in Europe with the efforts of the English theologian, Alcuin (732-804 C.E.), during the reign of Charlemagne. His disciple, Hrabanus Maurus (776-856 C.E.), was called the first teacher in Germany (*primus praeceptor Germaniae*). Right in the middle of the 10th century, we witness the first influence of Eastern medicine on Western, in the city of Salerno, in southern Italy. The medical school of this city made the first translation from Arabic into Latin, and, in this manner, perhaps the first Orientalists appeared. It is said that a Jew, by the name of Shabbetai (d. 982 C.E.), fell into the hands of the Arabs as a prisoner, was taken to Palermo, from where he returned to Italy. There he laboured as one of the founders of the medical school at Salerno.

However, the first Orientalist was originally a Muslim merchant from Carthage, who embraced Christianity at Salerno, and who is known in the history of science as Constantinus Africanus (d. 1087 C.E.). His

works had a very modernizing influence on all the European medical schools. Thereafter, an Englishman, Adelard of Bath (who was famous between 1110 and 1142 C.E.), translated directly from Arabic the astronomical tables of Musa al-Khwarizmi, and 15 books of Euclid's *Elements*.

The most important Orientalist of the older period was an Italian, Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187 C.E.), who translated from Arabic into Latin (at Toledo) the *Almagest* (*al-Majasti*) of Ptolemy and the *Canon* (*Qanun*) of Avicenna (Ibn Sina). An English scholar, Robert of Chester (who was famous in the middle of the 12th century C.E.), translated al-Khwarizmi's *Al-Jabr wal-Muqabalah* into Latin, and, in 1141 C.E., in collaboration with Hermanus Dalmata, produced the first Latin translation of the Quran. The famous Dominican monk and philosopher, Albertus Magnus (1193-1280 C.E.), used to lecture on Aristotle in the University of Paris attired in Arab gowns. In the 13th century C.E. the English friar, Michael Scot (d. circa 1235 C.E.), translated Averroes' (Ibn Rushd's) commentary on Aristotle and Aristotle's book on zoology from Arabic into Latin.

In the time of Pope Clement V, who wished to spread Christianity in the East, a religious council met at Vienne (France) in 1311-12, C.E., However, as Ernest Renan wrote,

"the efforts of Raymond Lull (the Catalan who was regarded as the father of oriental studies in the West, and who trained missionaries to convert Muslims to Christianity) and the decrees of the Council of Vienne in 1311 C.E., failed to create a serious study of Orientalism (*Histoire Generale et Systeme Compare des Langues Semitiques*, Paris, 1868, p. 173).

Roger Bacon, the Franciscan monk and famous English scholar of the 13th century C.E., used to stress on the importance of Arabic at the Oxford university. A Frenchman named Mesgnien, a famous Orientalist of the 17th century, who adopted the name of Meninski when he came to Istanbul in 1652, wrote and published the *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium* in 1680. This book was republished in 1780, with an additional introductory chapter in Latin giving a long and detailed account of the origins and progress of Orientalism in Europe.

Another work, which also became very famous, is the encyclopedia entitled *Bibliothèque Orientale*, published by D'Herbelot in France during the reign of Louis XIV. This work of Barthelmi D'Herbelot (1620-95) is doubtless the original forebear of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*. This work

was annotated and published again by the famous Antoine Galland, Professor of Arabic in the College de France at Paris, and the first translator of the *Thousand and One Nights* into French.

The *Encyclopedia of Islam* was begun in 1908 by the well-known publisher, E.J. Brill in Leyden—the centre of Orientalism in Holland. Its publication costs were partly met by the International Union of Academies. The majority of the articles were originally written in the German language or by the German scholars. Its first fascicule appeared in 1908; its supplementary volume was published in 1938. Since the majority of its contributors is non-Muslim, the Muslim world does not rely on it.¹

When the College de France was founded in Paris in 1500, Oriental languages were included in its curriculum. At this time, a scholarly monk, Guillaume Postel—the first real French Orientalist—appeared. He compiled the first Arabic grammar, which appeared in Europe. Another work, *De la Republique des Turcs*, was published by him in Poitiers in 1560. Pope Gregory XIII (d. 1591) founded a printing press in Rome to print books in Arabic characters. This press printed Ibn Sina's *Qanun* in Arabic letters for the first time. The French king, Henry III, established a chair of Arabic in the College de France in 1587. In the *Collegium pro fide propaganda*, founded by Pope Urban VII in 1627, courses in Oriental languages were also offered in Rome. In Holland, Louis le Dieu published a Persian grammar in 1639, while Golius published the Arabic text of Ibn 'Arabshah's *'Aja'ib al-Maqdur fi Nawa'ib al-Timur* and an Arabic-Latin dictionary in 1636. In 1663, Abu'l Fida's famous *Al-Mukhtasar fi Tarikh al-Bashar* was published at Oxford by Pococke. In 1654, the text and a Latin translation of Sa'di's *Gulistan* was published in Holland by Gentius.

During the reign of Louis XIV, in 1641, the royal press was able to establish a complete Oriental printing establishment in Paris by securing the types cast in Oriental languages. Even in the reign of Louis XIII, officials, who knew Oriental languages, bore the title of 'King's Dragoamns'. The French king, Louis XVI, in 1785, ordered the study of the Oriental manuscripts, contained in his library, and important studies on these manuscripts were prepared under the title *Notices et Extraits*, principally by men such as De Guignes (author of *Histoire des Huns et des Turcs*), Sylvestre de Sacy, Langles, and Caussin de Perceval, and later on by A. Jourdain, Abel Remusat, Quatremere and A. Sedillot. This research was

later published in a journal form by the *Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*. These studies constitute an important source for Oriental research.

These researches and studies took the most organized form after the French Revolution with the foundation of the *Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in 1795 in Paris. Modern Orientalism began with this school, which was founded and headed by Sylvestre de Sacy—the greatest Orientalist France produced in the last century—and that it trained Orientalists for the whole of Europe. When some of the scholars, who were with Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt, laid the foundations of 'Egyptology', others came into contact with the Islamic sciences, which was a factor in the progress of Islamic studies in this Paris school.

But it is not until nearly a century after the foundation of the Paris school that we see the establishment of the Oriental studies in German universities, the opening of the *Seminar fur Orientalische Sprachen* in Berlin (1887), the introduction of the study of Oriental languages at Cambridge University, and later the founding of the School of Oriental Studies in London (1906). In Russia, an Oriental department had been organized by foreign specialists in the University of Kazan (1804), and in 1854 an Oriental department was organized in the University of St. Petersburg. Now, there are Institutes of Orientalism in Baku, Moscow, Tashkent, Vladivostok, and in other places in Soviet Russia. Similar institutes for Islamic studies were also established in Madrid, Granada and Barcelona etc., in Spain. In the United States, departments of Oriental languages and literatures have been established in the Universities of Chicago, Harvard, Columbia, Princeton and in over a dozen other universities.

The establishment of scientific Orientalism began with the efforts and contributions of Sylvestre de Sacy. Thus, the Oriental schools for Islamic studies had been organised in France, Holland, England, Germany, Italy, Spain and Russia in the 19th century. In Germany, the homeland of the Reformation (beginning of the 16th century), the method of critical interpretation had been developed through the use of Hebrew, which was learnt as a tool to employ in the study of the texts of the Bible. Indian studies began to exert a great influence over the Romantic movement, then flourishing in Germany. Their influence is discernible in the works of Schelling and Schopenhauer, and also in the works of Goethe's friend, Herder. Goethe utilized the translation of the *Hamasa*, made by J.G.L. Kosegarten (Professor of Oriental languages in the Jena University), when he composed his *Westostliche Diwan*. Oriental studies won importance in Germany, thanks to the efforts of de Sacy's pupil, H.L.

Fleischer, through whom the study of Semitic languages and the study of Arabic have now gained an independent position in Germany. That is how the great German Islamic scholars appeared, such as F. Wustenfeld (d. 1899), Ahlwardt (d. 1909), Wellhausen (d. 1918), Noldeke (d. 1930), Bergstraesser, and G.L. Flugel. Besides *Concordantiae corani arabicae*, Flugel's outstanding work was his editing and publishing of Katib Celebi's *Kashf al-Zunun* with its Latin translation under the title of *Lexicon bibliographicum encyclopaedicum Mustafa b. 'Abd Allah Katib Jelebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalfa*—a valuable bibliographical work, which Western Orientalists still refer to almost every day.

In France, after Sylvestre de Sacy, we must mention the names of Reinaud (who was Professor of Arabic in the College de France); De Slane (who prepared the Arabic catalogue of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris); and Rene Basset (who was one of the early editors of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*). The latter died in 1924. In England, E.W. Lane (1801-76) wrote his Arabic dictionary, which is very well known in Europe. We must also mention Snouck Hurgronje (d. 1938—who visited Mecca, then published his famous work, entitled *Mekka*, and who made many studies on the Islamic *Shari'ah* in Java); de Goeje (d. 1909—who was also a Dutch scholar); R. Dozy (who won fame by his Arabic dictionary and his *Histoire des Musulmans de L'Espagne*); Baron Rosen (who rendered great service to the Oriental studies in Russia); Krackovsky (who won renown by his profound knowledge of Arabic); and the Dane, F. Buhl (d. 1934). After the names of Wright (who corrected and edited Caspari's Arabic dictionary in England), and Howell, Lyall and Bevan, come those of Sir Thomas Arnold (Professor of Arabic in the London School of Oriental Studies) and Margoliouth (at Oxford). The Hungarian scholar, Goldziher's (d. 1921) masterly works on Muslim jurisprudence and theology should also be remembered. In Italy, Count Leone Caetani di Sermoneta (d. 1935—who won fame by his great book on the history of Islam in Italian—*Annali del Islam*); and, in France, we must recall Marcais (Professor of Arabic in College de France); Rev. H. Lammens; the Swede Nyberg; Levi-Provencal (one of the editors of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*); and, especially, Professor Louis Massignon (d. 1962—Professor of Muslim Sociology in the College de France).

Brockelmann (whose *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* is one of the most frequently used source books for Orientalists); A. Hartmann (one of the editors of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*); W. Heffening; A. Schaade; the Dutch scholar Wensinck; the Swedish contributor K. W. Zettersteen; H. Ritter (one of the professors of the University of Istanbul); J. H. Kramers (of the University of Leiden); R. A. Nicholson (who won fame

by his studies on Islamic mysticism and by his translation of Roomi's *Mathnawi* in England); H.A.R. Gibb (one of the editors of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and now, in 1966, at the Harvard University); Alfred Guillaume (d. January, 1966—the noted British authority on Islamic jurisprudence and theology); M. Th. Houtsman (late Professor of the University of Utrecht and one of the editors of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*); and, in Italy, I. Guidi, and his son, Michel Angello Guidi; Levi Della Vida; and C. A. Nallino; and, in Spain, Asin Palacios and Millas Vallicrosa (of Barcelona University) should also be mentioned.

Edward G. Browne won fame by his 4-volume *History of Persian Literature*. Sir Denison Ross was the first director of the School of Oriental Studies in London, who died in 1913 in Istanbul. H. Masse was the Professor of Persian in the Paris School of Living Oriental Languages, who wrote a fine study on Firdausi.

The famous English historian, Arnold J. Toynbee, considers, among the greatest benefactors of mankind, besides Jesus Christ and Socrates, Muhammad (may peace be on him), the great founder of Islam (*Civilization On Trial*, London, 1953, p. 156). Muhammad, "one of the greatest benefactors of humanity"—it was a long time before an important writer in Western Christendom came to this realization. In the Middle Ages, Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him) was regarded in Europe as a "pagan idol", or as an "impostor", or as a "schismatic in the Christian Church", or as a "false prophet"; in any case, "an evil man burdened with sin". Later, after the introduction of the Arabic studies in Europe, things were a little better. Even in the 17th century, to the Jewish and Christian scholars in Europe, Prophet Muhammad was "the false prophet" and "the arch-enemy of Christendom". Pierre Bayle considered Prophet Muhammad to have been a "false prophet and a fraud" (*Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Rotterdam, 1697, 'Mahomet', pp. 469-92). Only in the 18th century did the opinion change. Under the influence of the two great movements, 'Enlightenment' (*Aufklärung*) and 'Romanticism', there took shape a new judgement on Prophet Muhammad and his creed—*ISLAM*.

Voltaire finds much to commend in the precepts of Islam, and he was an admirer of the Holy Quran (*Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, edition J. Bry, Paris, 1858, pp. 167-79). Goethe was captivated by the personality of the great Prophet of Islam; later in his life, Goethe made the explicit declaration, that he could never see Muhammad as an impostor (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Cf. Taha Hussein Bey, *Goethe and the East*, 1949, pp. 165-71). The historian Edward Gibbon writes in his

Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire magnificent pages in defence of the merits of Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him) and his teaching (Chapter L; Halifax 1848, Vol. III, pp. 432, 443). However, it is only in the 19th century, that oriental studies built up an historical picture of the great Prophet of Islam, and that the recently-developed study of the history of religions behaved more justly towards Islam.

The first International Congress of Orientalists was held in 1873 at Paris. Since then, the following Congresses have been held so far: (2) London-1874; (3) St. Petersburg-1876; (4) Florence-1878; (5) Berlin-1881; (6) Leiden-1883; (7) Vienna-1886; (8) Stockholm and Christiania-1889; (9) London-1892; (10) Geneva-1894; (11) Paris-1897; (12) Rome-1899; (13) Hamburg-1902; (14) Algiers-1905; (15) Copenhagen-1908; (16) Athens-1912; (17) Oxford-1928; (18) Leiden-1931; (19) Rome-1935; (20) Brussels-1938; (21) Paris-1948; (22) Istanbul-1951; (23) Cambridge-1954; (24) Munich-1957; (25) Moscow-1960; (26) New Delhi-1964; and (27) Ann Arbor (Michigan, U.S.A.)-1967.

CONCLUSION

SO far as the leadership in Asia is concerned, People's Republic of China is Asia's natural political leader. In size, economic potential, command of strategic positions and prestige among all the peoples of Asia, China is equipped to be the Asiatic Continent's foremost nation. Moreover, China has one unique political advantage. In almost every nation, every island from Burma eastward to Tahiti, there is a Chinese enclave. Thus, the Chinese control industries and commerce in Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, North and South Vietnam and the Philippines. They have been powerful in Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia. They work as bankers, shippers and wholesale merchants. Dominating thriving cities like Hong Kong (97 percent Chinese) and Singapore (77 percent), they constitute the Continent's most powerful entrepreneur class.

Muslim Kurdistan and the Kurdish struggle for autonomous existence have received very little publicity owing to the lack of their means and resources. The Kurds are Sunni Muslim and inhabit Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Syria and Soviet Armenia in a compact region—Kurdistan. The Kurd is reputed to be a tenacious fighter and warrior. Mulla Mustafa Barzani is their national leader, whose trusted follower is General Jalal Talabani, the young Kurdish guerrilla commander. For years, they have been struggling to obtain autonomy for Kurdistan; their main trouble is with Iraq, in which Syria has now also joined. The famous oil plant at Kirkuk (which yields a fabulous annual royalty of about £100 million to Iraq) is inside Kurdistan, and the Kurds demand a share in oil royalties. Owing to the suppressing policies of these Muslim States, Communism has infiltrated Kurdistan, which is an area of unique importance to Soviet Russia, being her shortest route to the Muslim Middle East. Incidentally,

Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi, the great conqueror of the Crusades, whose tomb is in Damascus, was a Kurd. And, in 1940's, a Kurd, Husni Berazi, was the Prime Minister of Syria. But, now the Ba'athist regimes both in Iraq and Syria are fighting against the Kurdish aspirations of self-determination and internal autonomy. The Communists are helping both the Iraqi government and the Kurds. In the struggle, only two powers are to gain—the Communists and Israel. President Arif of Iraq, himself a mild man, is frequently counselled moderation by President Nasser of the U.A.R., as the latter wants to use the brave Kurds against Israel (the Kurds fought brilliantly with the Arabs against Israel in the war of 1948).

Israel and the Palestinian Muslim refugees; oppression of Muslims in Cyprus, India, Eritrea, Ethiopia and South Africa; maltreatment of 'Black' Muslims in America; and the enslavement of Kashmir by India are the problems facing the Muslim world the misfortunes of which do not lie so much in its material weakness as in its mental attitudes—in its forgetfulness of the lesson which the Quran teaches us to the effect that we should be "Strong against the enemy (atheists), while, compassionate among themselves" (48:29).

The major events occurred in Asia during 1965 were: (1) Vietnam war; (2) The Indo-Pakistan war of September; (3) The secession of Singapore from Malaysia; (4) The signing of the normalisation treaty between South Korea and Japan; (5) The election of Ferdinand Marcos as the President of the Philippines; (6) President Ayub's victory at the presidential polls in Pakistan; and (7) the abortive Communist *coup* attempt in Indonesia. The major events in the first half of 1966 in South Asia were the 'Tashkent Declaration' between India and Pakistan; the sudden death of Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri of India immediately after it in Tashkent; and the succession to the Premiership of India of Indira Gandhi, the daughter of the late Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru.

The pace of events in Africa, however, has been faster than that in Asia. In Africa, from June, 1965, to December, 1966, there were no less than eight *coups* in the following countries: (1) Algeria, June 19, 1965—Col. Houari Boumedienne deposes President Ahmed Ben Bella; (2) Congo (Leopoldville), November 25—Gen. Joseph Mobutu ousts President Joseph Kasavubu and Premier Moise Tshombe; (3) Dahomey, November 29—Gen. Christophe Soglo deposes President Sourou Migan Apithy; (4) Central African Republic, January 1, 1966—Col. Bedel Bokassa ousts President David Dacko; (5) Upper Volta, January 4—Army deposes President Maurice Yameogo; (6) Nigeria, January 15—Army *coup* kills Federal Prime Minister, Abubakr Tafawa Balewa, Northern region Premier, Ahmed Bello Sardauna of Sokoto, and others; (7) Ghana,

February 24—Army deposes President Kwame Nkrumah; and (8) Burundi, December, 1966—establishment of republic after the overthrow of monarchy.

The world's population reached 3,308 million by mid-1965, and if the present trend continues, it will exceed 7,000 million by the year 2,000, 'the Population Reference Bureau' of Washington, D.C. (U.S.A.) reported. It revealed that Latin America led the world in the rate of population increase, and Asia comprised more than half the world's population. The most populous countries of the world are (1966): (1) China, 750 million; (2) India, 485 million; (3) U.S.S.R., 230 million; (4) U.S.A., 185 million; (5) Pakistan, 115 million; (6) Indonesia, 110 million; (7) Japan, 100 million; (8) Brazil, 65 million; (9) West Germany, U.K., France and Italy, about 55 million each.

There are still (December, 1966) 31 colonial territories with 9 million people under British domination. Their number all over the world is about 50; it was stated in the General Assembly's debate on Colonialism at the United Nations. Bechuanaland (Botswana), Basutoland (Lesotho), and British Guiana (Guyana) gained independence during 1966, and Mauritius is scheduled to be free in 1967. Aden will be free in 1968. A U.N. Charter amendment on August 31, 1965, expanded the Security Council from 11 to 15 members; five (U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain, France and China) are permanent members with the power of veto.

The plan for joint 'nuclear guardianship' East of Suez by Britain, America, Australia and New Zealand took an important step forward in late July, 1965, with the signing, in Colombo, of the 'Anglo-Maldivian Agreement' on "unrestricted and exclusive use" of the strategic Addu Atoll in the Afro-Asian Ocean (new and more popular name for the former Indian Ocean) until 1984 "for the purposes of Commonwealth defence." The withdrawal of Singapore from the Malaysian Federation prompted British and American circles to choose new bases to replace Aden and Singapore, 'to provide a nuclear or submarine shield for Asian countries against China'. In November, 1965, Tanzania protested against an Anglo-American plan to establish a military base on the Chagos archipelago (Diego Garcia island), 1,200 miles north-east of Mauritius, in the Afro-Asian Ocean, to be known as 'the British Ocean Territory'.

In December, 1965, the Soviet rejection of an American suggestion that, the two 'Super Powers'—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—work together for a 'world-order' during the next 10 to 15 years, dampened hopes in Washington about restoring the entente between the two countries, which had, at times, reached honeymoonish proportions before cooling off on account of the Viet-Nameese war.

From March 27 to April 1, 1966, the 6th International Congress of the 'International Committee for the Defence of Christian Civilization' took place in Lisbon (Portugal). Delegates from 25 European and American (North and South) countries were present. The honorary president of the organization is the former Chancellor of West Germany, Dr. Adenauer; the President is the Spanish minister, D. Jose Solis Ruiz; and the Secretary-General, Dr. Heinz Gehle. There were observers from Afghanistan, Israel, Iraq and Burma. The theme of the Congress was "Crusade for God and Dignity of Man", and the Congress was mainly concerned with the "Christian civilisation as a future order". Portugal is recognized by the Roman Catholics as "the land of the apparitions of Fatima—the holy virgin", whose 50th anniversary will be commemorated there during 1967.

In 1965, the Academy of Sciences in the U.S.S.R. published a book, entitled *Reactionary Islam*. The author is the well-known Soviet "Islam researcher", L. J. Klimovich. In this book, Klimovich has attacked all the aspects of Islam, its founder, its holy book, and its principles and teachings most dishonestly, incorrectly and without an iota of truth.

Discordant voices from strange quarters were heard in May, 1966, against the commendable efforts of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia for the unity of the Muslims—not of the Arabs alone. India has opposed the concept of an Islamic alliance very naturally, as she is fundamentally an anti-Islamic country, being a close ally of 'Israel'. About the same time, Soviet Prime Minister, Alexei Kosygin, denounced, at Cairo, proposals for an Islamic alliance, "regarded as a bid by Saudi Arabia to counter President Nasser's rallying call of Arab socialism". The Soviet Premier said "an Islamic alliance would be a facade aimed against the interests of the peoples". Premier Kosygin supported the Egyptian stand in Yemen, and hailed the 'unified effort of certain Arab countries such as the U.A.R., Algeria, Syria and Iraq'.

In mid-June, 1966, the leaders of the U.A.R., Syria, Iraq and Algeria concluded a military agreement, which was the prelude to a "new Arab strategy to cope with reactionary and imperialist forces". Syria now, thus, seems to be again in the grips of President Nasser. A joint statement by Egypt and Syria denounced the proposed Islamic alliance and noted that the "Islamic alliance was a new abortive attempt by imperialism and reaction to stop the Arab revolutionary march".

A plan sponsored by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia for a major Islamic Conference to be held in late April, 1967, at Mecca, had its main

objective to counter atheistic movements in the Middle East and Asia. The type of socialism practised in President Nasser's U.A.R. and in Syria was considered such an "atheistic" system. The plan reflects the widening rift between revolutionaries and moderates in the Arab world. King Husain of Jordan, among others, endorsed King Faisal's call for an Islamic grouping. The 4th Arab Summit conference, scheduled for September 5, 1966, in Algiers, was postponed indefinitely at the request of Egypt.

While Indonesia and Algeria supported U.A.R., Iraq and Syria in opposing the Islamic summit conference at Mecca to be held in late April, 1967, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia felt, in late September, 1966, that there was little scope for fruitful co-operation in the Arab world because of the worsening relations in the area. Early in October, 1966, 55 Muslim religious leaders from 28 countries met at Cairo to discuss subjects relating to Islam, and to provide "a decisive answer to the Islamic pact concept". In late October, 1966, the *Rabitah-i-Alam-i-Islami's* annual session was held at Mecca. The membership of this Saudi Muslim organisation, which started with 19 countries in 1962, now extends to 40 Muslim nations and Muslim minorities in various parts of the world. President Habib Bourquiba of Tunisia (who broke diplomatic relations with the U.A.R.) opined that "Nasser's opposition to the idea of pan-Islamic unity was motivated by personal ambitions. The idea of Islamic solidarity was alien to the U.A.R."

On November 5, 1966, an African summit conference was held in Addis Ababa. An Asian replica of the 'Organisation of American States (O.A.S.)' is proposed to be forged to supplant the 'South-East Treaty Organisation (S.E.A.T.O.)'. According to the principles of the U.S. 'Monroe Doctrine', which gave birth to the O.A.S., the new alliance is U.S.-inspired and will be intensely anti-Communist. Efforts to enlist Soviet co-operation in stabilising the Asian situation against the People's Republic of China through a Vietnamese settlement and a nuclear non-proliferation treaty, guaranteeing the security of Asian countries, particularly of India, have been stepped up by a newly-planned British-American-Soviet link-up. However, the American 'Grand Design' for Asia of President Johnson to replace the defunct S.E.A.T.O. did not come through at the 'Manila Summit Meeting' (the U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand), held in the last week of October, 1966.

On October 17, 1966, the U.N. membership grew to 121 by the addition of two new African independent states—Lesotho (former Basutoland) and Botswana (Bechuanaland).

A 'United Political Command' was set up in late October, 1966, to co-ordinate actions by the U.A.R. and Iraq in the political and economic fields.

In a historic decision, the, U.N. General Assembly, on October 26, 1966, terminated the 50-year old mandate of South Africa over South-West Africa, making the administration of the territory the direct responsibility of the United Nations. All the European colonial powers—Portugal, Spain, Britain and France—have been asked by the United Nations to give political independence to the territories under their colonial control. In December, 1966, events in both South Vietnam and Southern Rhodesia caused anxiety and danger of a wider conflict.

Early in December, 1966, the Supreme Guide of 'the Muslim Brotherhood'—Shaikh Hasan al-Hodeibi—died in "mysterious circumstances" in a prison near Cairo, according to a 'Brotherhood' communique.

About 52 nations in Asia and Africa won independence from Western Powers between 1939 and 1966; their approximate total area was about 12 million square miles, and the 1966 estimated total population, about 900 million. As compared to this, the total area of the Communist bloc (U.S.S.R., China, and their allied Communist countries in Europe and Asia, including Cuba, but excluding Yugoslavia) countries, in 1966, was about 19 million square miles, and population estimate, about 1100 million.

In the present monograph, the following countries and islands have not been mentioned, but they too contain small Muslim communities: Australia and New Zealand; Pacific islands; Afro-Asian Ocean islands—Laccadive, Andamans, Nicobar and Seychelles, etc.; Hong Kong, Korea, Nepal, Bhutan, Japan and Outer Mongolia, in Asia; in Africa, Angola, Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), South-West Africa, Botswana (Bechuanaland), Lesotho (Basutoland), and Swaziland; in Europe, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal and European Russia; in Central America, all the republics except Mexico; in South America, other countries than the three Guianas and Brazil; the Mediterranean islands of Rhodes, Crete, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica; Balearic islands; Aegian islands; and Atlantic Ocean islands.

While the last lines of this book were going to the press, the Togolese army seized power in Togo in a bloodless *coup* on January 13, 1967, under the leadership of Col. Etotnne Eyedema; President Nicolas Grunitzky resigned.

APPENDIX

Muslims In The World - 1966

No.	Name of Country or Territory	Area (in Sq. M.)	Population (1966 Estimate)	Percentage of Muslims	Capital	Remarks
1.	Aden and Hadramaut	112,000	1,000,000	99.5	Aden	Federation
2.	Afghanistan	250,000	13,000,000	99.5	Kabul	Kingdom
3.	Albania	10,629	2,000,000	80	Tirana	Republic
4.	Algeria	947,500	12,000,000	95	Algiers	Republic
5.	Austria	32,375	10,000,000	$\frac{1}{3}$	Vienna	Republic
6.	Bahrain	213	200,000	100	Manamah	Amirate
7.	Belgium	11,755	10,000,000	$\frac{1}{2}$	Brussels	Kingdom
8.	Brazil	3,288,050	65,000,000	$\frac{1}{2}$	Rio de Janeiro	Republic
9.	Britain	89,041	55,000,000	1	London	Kingdom
10.	Bulgaria	42,796	10,000,000	12	Sofia	Republic
11.	Burma	261,610	24,000,000	7	Rangoon	Republic
12.	Burundi	10,750	2,500,000	20	Usumbura	Republic
13.	Cameroons	183,750	6,000,000	45	Yaounde	Republic
14.	Canada	3,499,116	18,000,000	$\frac{1}{2}$	Ottawa	Dominion
15.	Central African Republic	240,000	2,000,000	75	Bangui	Republic
16.	Ceylon	25,332	12,000,000	7	Colombo	Republic
17.	Chad	495,000	4,000,000	94	Fort Lamy	Republic
18.	China	4,481,000	750,000,000	10	Peking	Republic
19.	Congo (Leop.)	905,500	15,000,000	10	Leopoldville	Republic

No.	Name of Country or Territory	Area (in Sq. M.)	Population (1966 Estimate)	Percentage of Muslims	Capital	Remarks
10.	Cyprus	3,572	650,000	30	Nicosia	Republic
11.	Czechoslovakia	49,381	18,000,000	1	Prague	Republic
12.	Dahomey	45,500	2,500,000	40	Cotonou	Republic
13.	Ethiopia (with Eritrea)	395,000	19,000,000	46	Addis Ababa	Kingdom
14.	Fiji Islands	7,083	600,000	25	Suva	Brit. Colony
15.	Finland	118,000	5,500,000	2	Helsinki	Republic
16.	France	212,150	50,000,000	1	Paris	Republic
17.	Gambia	4,004	350,000	95	Bathurst	Republic
18.	Germany, East	41,500	25,000,000	1	East Berlin	Republic
19.	Germany, West	94,500	55,000,000	1	Bonn	Republic
20.	Ghana	91,843	7,500,000	48	Accra	Republic
1.	Greece	51,246	10,000,000	6	Athens	Kingdom
2.	Guiana, Dutch	55,000	300,000	20	Paramaribo	Dutch Colony
3.	Guiana, French	34,750	50,000	12	Cayenne	Fr. Colony
4.	Guinea, Former Fr.	105,500	3,500,000	85	Conakry	Republic
5.	Guinea, Portuguese	13,900	1,000,000	75	Bissau	Port. Colony
6.	Guyana (Former Brit. Guiana)	83,000	700,000	15	Georgetown	Brit. Dominion
7.	Holland	12,500	14,000,000	1	Amsterdam	Monarchy
8.	Hungary	35,912	12,000,000	2	Budapest	Republic
9.	India	1,218,327	485,000,000	12	New Delhi	Republic
0.	Indo-China	286,000	28,000,000	18	(with Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam)	
1.	Indonesia	735,400	110,000,000	92	Jakarta	Republic

No.	Name of Country or Territory	Area (in Sq. M.)	Population (1966 Estimate)	Percentage of Muslims	Capital	Remarks
2.	Iran	628,000	22,000,000	99	Tehran	Monarchy
3.	Iraq	116,000	6,500,000	90	Baghdad	Republic
4.	Israel	8,084	2,500,000	10	Tel-Aviv	Republic
5.	Italy	116,000	53,000,000	—	Rome	Republic
6.	Ivory Coast	124,000	4,500,000	40	Abidjan	Kingdom
7.	Jordan	34,740	1,400,000	95	Amman	Republic
8.	Kenya	224,960	9,000,000	25	Nairobi	Sultanate
9.	Kuwait	5,800	400,000	99.5	Kuwait	Republic
0.	Lebanon	3,800	1,700,000	55	Beirut	Republic
1.	Liberia	43,000	2,500,000	33	Monrovia	Republic
2.	Libya	680,000	1,700,000	99.5	Tripoli	Kingdom
3.	Malagasy	228,500	6,500,000	23	Tananarive	Republic
4.	Malawi	49,177	3,750,000	30	Zomba	Republic
5.	Malaysia	129,293	7,500,000	75	Kuala-Lumpur	Federation
6.	Maldives Is.	—	150,000	100	—	Sultanate
7.	Mali	465,000	4,500,000	95	Bamako	Republic
8.	Malta	122	600,000	5	Valetta	Republic
9.	Mauritania	419,200	1,000,000	100	Nouakchott	Islamic Republic
0.	Mauritius	720	750,000	20	Port Louis	Brit. Colony
1.	Mexico	760,375	35,000,000	—	Mexico City	Republic
2.	Morocco	172,000	13,000,000	97	Rabat	Kingdom
3.	Mozambique	302,300	7,000,000	25	Lourenco-Marques	Port. Colony
4.	Niger	494,500	3,500,000	90	Niamey	Republic
5.	Nigeria	390,250	57,000,000	70	Lagos	Republic
6.	Oman & Muscat	82,000	1,000,000	99.9	Muscat	Sultanate
7.	Pakistan	365,529	115,000,000	88.5	Islamabad	Republic

Name of Country or Territory	Area (in Sq. M.)	Population (1966 Estimate)	Percentage of Muslims	Capital	Remarks
Philippines	115,600	33,000,000	11	Manila	Republic
Poland	121,131	33,000,000	2½	Warsaw	Republic
Qatar	4,000	75,000	100	Dohah	Shaikhdom
Rhodesia, South	150,330	4,000,000	15	Salisbury	(Illegal)
Ruanda	10,250	3,000,000	20	Kigali	Republic
Rumania	91,671	23,000,000	9	Bucharest	Republic
Saudi Arabia	1,000,000	8,000,000	99.5	Riyadh	Kingdom
Senegal	80,000	3,500,000	90	Dakar	Republic
Sierra Leone	27,925	3,500,000	45	Freetown	Republic
Singapore	220	3,000,000	33	Singapore	Republic
Somalia	293,000	2,800,000	100	Maqdishu	Republic
Somaliland, Fr.,	9,071	150,000	100	Jibuti	Fr. Colony
South Africa	472,685	18,000,000	20	Pretoria	Republic
Spain	189,000	35,000,000	—	Madrid	Republic
Spanish Africa	117,126	700,000	88	-----	Spanish Colonies
Sudan	967,541	13,000,000	75	Khartoum	Republic
Switzerland	16,000	7,000,000	½	Berne	Republic
Syria	58,000	5,500,000	95	Damascus	Republic
Tanzania (with Zanzibar)	362,688	11,000,000	33	Dar es-Salaam	Republic
Thailand	200,148	30,000,000	10	Bangkok	Kingdom
Togo	21,893	1,500,000	45	Lome	Republic
Trucial Shaikhs	-----	200,000	100	Dubai	Shaikhdoms
Tunisia	48,195	5,000,000	90	Tunis	Republic

91. Turkey	296,194	28,000,000	98.08	Ankara	Republic
92. Uganda	93,981	8,000,000	30	Kampala	Republic
93. U.S.S.R. (Soviet Russia)	12,248,800	230,000,000	20	Moscow	Republic
94. United Arab Republic (Egypt)	386,200	29,000,000	90	Cairo	Republic
95. U.S.A.	3,558,057	185,000,000	1	Washington, D. C.	Republic
96. Upper Volta	106,000	4,500,000	85	Ouagadougou	Republic
97. West Indies (Trinidad)	1,980	1,000,000	10	Port of Spain	Brit. Dominion
98. Yemen	75,000	6,000,000	99	San'a	(Disputed)
99. Yugoslavia	96,134	22,000,000	15	Belgrad	Republic
100. Zambia	288,130	4,000,000	15	Lusaka	Republic

Note : The estimated (1966) total population of the Muslims in the world is over 650 million.

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The Author



Professor Mahmud Brelvi, an indefatigable worker in the cause of Islam, has been active in this field for the past thirty years or so. For about a decade now, he has been defending Islam successfully through his lectures and books against Christian missionaries and Western Orientalists, who have been striving incessantly to undermine Islam.

Professor Brelvi stayed in Africa for over eight years; for about four years, during mid-fifties, he worked as a Director at the Islamic Congress, Cairo. He has travelled widely throughout Africa and Asia, possesses first-hand knowledge of affairs and events in the Far East, South-East Asia and the Middle East, and maintains personal contacts with influential Muslim organizations and personalities in these regions. He is intensely interested in *Tableegh* and has already brought to the fold of Islam a number of persons in Japan and elsewhere.

Professor Brelvi is frequently being invited to international inter-faith conferences, convocations and seminars in foreign countries to speak on Islam.

A non-believer in sectarian prejudices, Professor Brelvi has produced over two dozen studies on Islamic affairs; his last noteworthy publication being *Islam and Its Contemporary Faiths* (pp. 300, Rs. 10, 1965).